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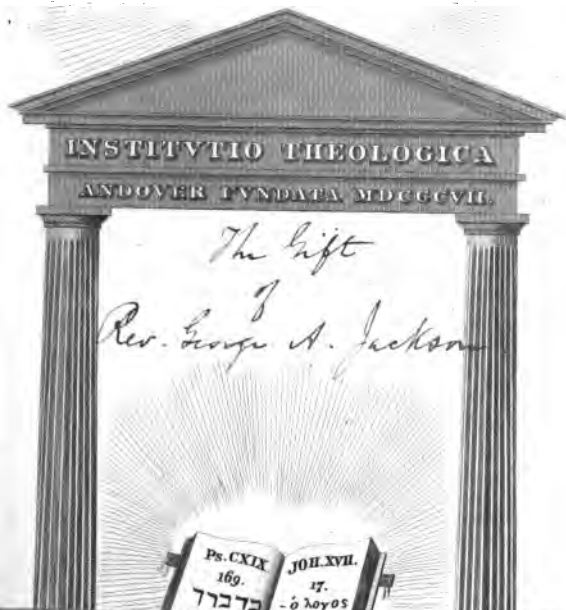
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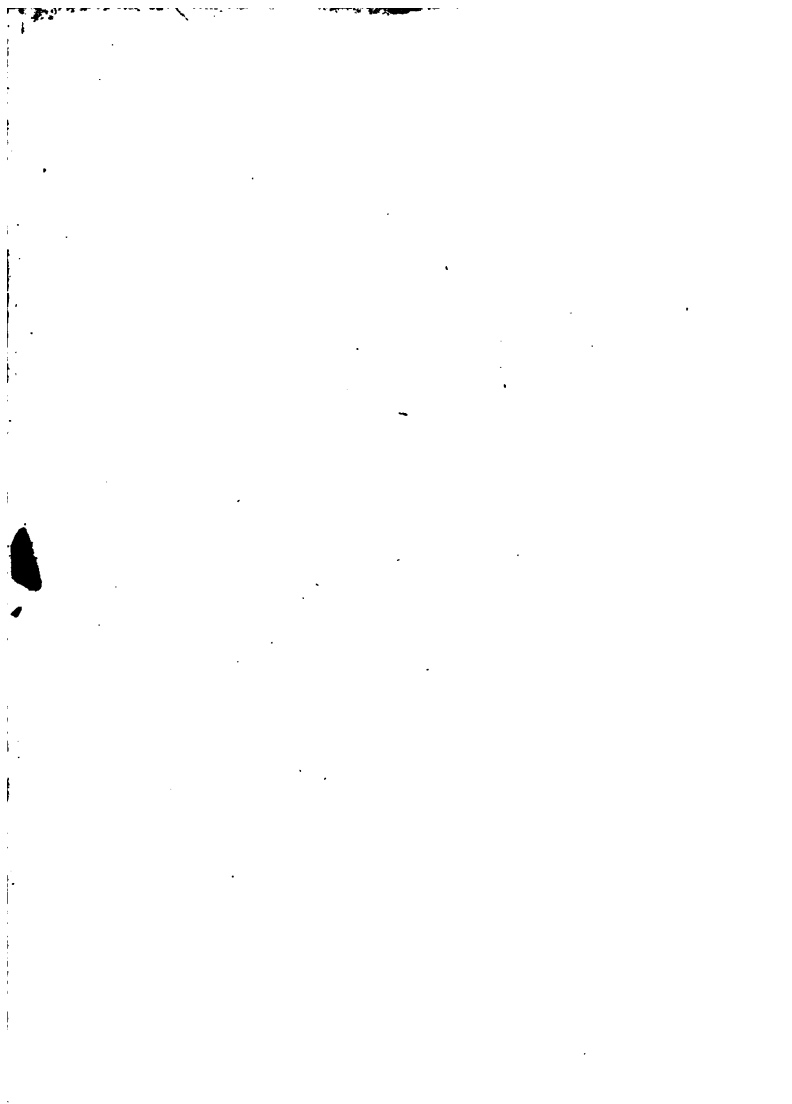
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ΑΚΡΟΓΥΝΗ

ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ





THE EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE PRIMERS.

- I. THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS AND THE APOLOGISTS OF
THE SECOND CENTURY, A. D. 95-180.**
- II. THE FATHERS OF THE THIRD CENTURY, A. D. 180-325.**
- III. THE POST-NICENE GREEK FATHERS, A. D. 325-750.**
- IV. THE POST-NICENE LATIN FATHERS, A. D. 325-590.**

Early Christian Literature Primers.

Edited by Prof. GEORGE P. FISHER, D.D., LL.D.

THE
POST-NICENE
LATIN FATHERS.

BY
REV. GEORGE A. JACKSON.

NEW YORK:
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1884.

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The
Dr. J. W. Jackson.

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P R E F A C E .

THE essay on "The Influence of the Roman Jurisprudence upon the Latin Christian Writers," proposed as an introduction to this volume, is omitted, on account of the large space which it has seemed best to give to the works of Augustine.

For the understanding of the writings of the Latin Fathers in this period, it is only needful to keep in mind the practical mission of the Western Church. To it was given, not the resolution of subtile questions as to the mode of the divine existence, but the determining of the practical relations of God and man. Only Hilary and Ambrose, therefore, of the great Latin writers gave much energy to the Trinitarian controversy, and the labors of the latter in this direction were rather those of a bishop than of a writer. The subsequent Nestorian and Monophysite controversies hardly so much as touched the Latin world. Pope Leo the Great did take part, and that effectually, in the settlement of the Eutychian question at the Council of Chalcedon, but the body of the Western Church knew little of it. Leaving the Christianity of the East to develop and harden into a formal

orthodoxy, the peculiar work of Latin Christianity advanced in two lines :

1. Besides establishing a powerful ecclesiastical fabric, fitted to stand amid the shocks of political revolutions, it developed a monastic life, unlike the pitiful spectacle of the same name in the East, which, amid the social chaos of a falling civilization, became the refuge of the elements of order, and the repository of the germs of a better life.

2. It formulated so clearly and emphasized so strongly the distinctive doctrine of the redemption of a lost world by Christ, that no subsequent corruption of the Church could rob mankind of a Saviour.

To these tasks, consciously or unconsciously, the Latin Fathers devoted themselves. The monastic life had been made known in the West by Athanasius, and Ambrose had helped not a little to give it favor ; but the real founder of Western monasticism was Jerome. This father also, be it said here, contributed to the exact and powerful system of truth which obtained in the fifth century, by giving to all Latin readers an approximately correct version of the Scriptures. After Jerome, monasticism had such scholarly supporters as Augustine, in Africa ; and John Cassian, Vincent of Lerins, and Faustus of Rhegium, in Gaul. For the perfect organizing of the system, however, was needed the Rule of St. Benedict—the work not of an idle recluse, but of an earnest soul intent upon preserving for men, amid the wrecks of the world, a healthy as well as a devout spiritual life. The monks having been thus brought under regular discipline, it was

not difficult for men like Cassiodorus to enlist them in labors with the pen, and thus to make the monasteries the preservers of much that was most valuable in the ancient world.

The scholars who contributed most to the building of the ecclesiastical fabric were Popes Leo and Gregory, neither of whom, however, was as great in letters as in statesmanship.

The foundations of the great doctrinal work above mentioned were laid in a preceding age. Tertullian long before had pondered questions concerning the origin of the soul and its relations to God; and the spirit of Tertullian was distinctively the spirit of the West. Still not very much was written upon these themes until the latter part of the fourth century, when a great genius developed at a stroke a system of anthropology which has influenced, and still influences, the world more profoundly than any other human system of thought. The work of Augustine was only begun when he swept his own century before him, carrying down truth as well as error under his inexorable doctrines of utter helplessness and irresistible grace.

To overthrow the ill-founded doctrines of Pelagius was a small work—hardly more than compensating for the good men who went down in Pelagius's wake—when compared with the great regulating power which this system has ever since exercised upon Christianity. Not itself the truth, but, if we may so speak, an exaggeration of the truth, Augustinianism has ever hovered as a threatening angel over the Church, ready, whenever false notions of human desert begin to corrupt, to de-

scend and possess earnest souls with his own high-wrought conceptions, and furnish them with an irresistible logic by which they may smite the recreant multitudes.

Once in the history of the Church that angel has descended. He intrusted his weapon to John Calvin, and, if its edge was keen, and the traces of its strokes were dark, they yet were healing blows. And if an increasing sense of self-sufficiency shall ever again overpower the Church, we may look with expectancy for a fresh descent of that renowned steel, and a passing revival of the stricter Augustinian and Calvinistic faith.

As said, Augustine's doctrines displaced for a time some teachings which were sound and true. In North Africa and Italy they met with little opposition. But in Southern Gaul had risen a school of monks, among whom were John Cassian and Vincent of Lerins, and, a few decades later, Faustus of Rhegium, who held, equally with Augustine, to the profound verities of a fallen race, and redemption through Christ, but yet believed in a true freedom of the will, in divine grace that might be appropriated or resisted, and in predestination turning upon the fitness of the subject. First by Augustine himself, afterward by Prosper of Aquitaine, and later by Cæsar of Arles and Fulgentius of Ruspe, this school was attacked as vigorously as the Pelagians themselves, and for a time their moderate views were obliged to give way. Still, the extreme North African views of predestination were in time somewhat modified, so that, when the councils at the beginning of the sixth century formally

ratified Augustinianism, they failed to approve of predestination to evil. An important help toward settling the controversy, on this basis of a slightly modified Augustinianism, was given by an anonymous book, "*De Vocatione Gentium*," which appeared after the middle of the fifth century.

English readers are to be congratulated upon having at last, among A. & A. Clark's Edinburgh publications, a translation of all of Augustine's works. The extracts on pages 131 to 133 and 148 to 153 have been taken from this translation, and it is to be hoped that they may lead many to the perusal of the complete works. Acknowledgment should also be made to Dr. Shedd's "*Confessions*" of Augustine for extracts on pages 90 to 96.

The volumes upon the Patristic Literature proposed by the author are complete with this book. He has in preparation, however, two similar books on the writings of the Mediæval Doctors and the Mediæval School-men. At no distant day, also, he hopes to present to the public a new series upon Modern Ecclesiastical Literature, so covering the field of Christian Literature.

GEORGE A. JACKSON.

MUSTERFIELD FARM,
August 1, 1883.



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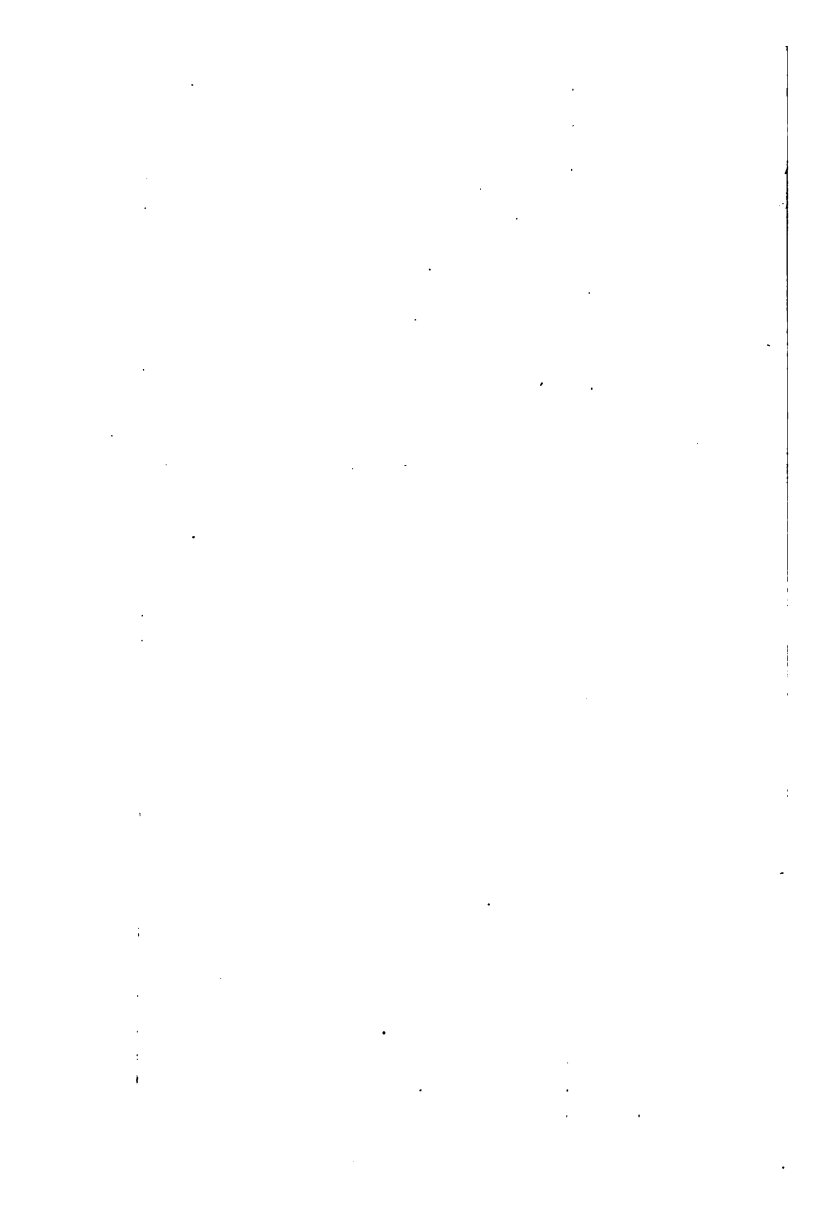
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A. D.	EMPERORS.	A. D.	BISHOPS OF ROME.	A. D.	CHRISTIAN WRITERS.
306-337	Constantine.	314	Sylvester.	330	Juvencus.
337-340	Constantine II.	336	Marcus.	334	Hilary of Poitiers.
337-350	Constans.	337	Julius I.	354	Eusebius of Vercelles.
337-361	Constantius.	352	Liberius	368	Zeno of Verona.
361-363	Julian.		(Felix II. Antipope).	374	Ambrose.
363-364	Jovian.	366	Damasus I.	378	Jerome.
			(Ursicinus, Antipope).	387	Gaudentius.
		384	Siricius.	393	Paulinus of Nola.
		398	Anastasius I.	395	Augustine.
364-476	<i>Emperors of the West.</i>	401	Innocent I.	405	Prudentius.
		417	Zosimus.	410 <i>eb.</i>	Rufinus.
364-375	Valentinian.	418	Boniface I.	410	Nonnus.
375-383	Gratian.	422	Celestinus.	416	Paul Orosius.
375-392	Valentinian II.	432	Sixtus III.	418	Pelagius.
392-395	Eugenius.	440	Leo I.		Coelestius.
395	Theodosius, <i>sole emperor.</i>	461	Hilarius.		Julian of Eclanum.
395-423	Honorius.	467	Simplicius.	418	Marius Mercator.
423-425	John the Usurper.	483	Felix III.	420	Sulpicius Severus.
425-455	Valentinian III.	493	Gelasius.	424	John Cassian.

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A. D.	EMPERORS.	A. D.	BISHOPS OF ROME.	A. D.	CHRISTIAN WRITERS.
455-476	Maximus, Avitus, Majorian, Severus, Anthemius, Olybrius, Glycerius, Nepos, Augustulus.	496	Anastasius II.	430	Sedulius.
476-553	<i>Kings of Italy.</i>	499	Symmachus.		Vincent of Lerins.
476-493	Odoacer.	514	Hormisdas.	440	Salvian.
493-526	Theodoric.	522	John I.	444	Prosper of Aquitaine.
526-534	Athalaric.	526	Felix IV.	450	Hilary of Arles.
534-536	Theodotus.	530	Boniface II.	461 <i>ob.</i>	Leo the Great.
536-540	Vitiges.	532	John II.	462	Faustus.
541-552	Totila.	535	Agapetus.	475	Dracontius.
553	Teias, <i>last Gothic King.</i>	536	Sylvester.	495	Gennadius.
	<i>Exarchate of Ravenna.</i>	540	Vigilius.	502	Cæsar of Arles.
553-800	<i>Kingdom of the Lombards.</i>	555	Pelagius I.	507	Fulgentius.
568-774		560	John III.	510	Boethius.
		574	Benedict I.	514	Avitus.
		578	Pelagius II.	523 <i>ob.</i>	Cassiodorus.
		590	Gregory I.	533	Dionysius Exiguus.
				544	Arator.
				573	Gregory of Tours.
				590	Gregory the Great.



THE POST-NICENE LATIN FATHERS.

HILARY,

THE Athanasius of the West. He was born at Poitiers, near the beginning of the fourth century, of a family of some distinction, but not yet Christian. His education was more than usually complete, embracing some knowledge of Greek, then falling into disuse at the West. We know but little of his earlier manhood beyond the bare facts that he was married and had a daughter. He was accustomed to read for instruction the writings of the philosophers, and with the same purpose took up the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. Reading the Pentateuch, as he tells us in his book on the Trinity, he was deeply impressed with the idea there given of God ; and later, studying the Gospel of John, he was astounded to find that this God had become incarnate for the redemption of men. The truth led to his conversion, and he was baptized at the same time with his wife and daughter. His extensive learning and the excellence of his life led the people of Poitiers to desire him for their bishop,

to which office he was appointed about A. D. 353. When after this the Arian opinions began to spread in France, they found in Hilary their most zealous opponent. He induced the orthodox bishop to excommunicate Saturninus, bishop of Arles, the champion of the new doctrine, together with the noted Arians, Ursacius and Valens. It is claimed by some that his great work upon the Trinity was written at this time, as well as his first address to Constantius ; but, whatever his efforts, the enemy was too strong for him, and in 356 secured his banishment into the East. From Phrygia he continued to govern his church by letter, and also to urge upon his fellow-bishops the true faith. In this interest he in 358 addressed to his brethren the book "On the Synods." In this book, rather than in his greater treatise, we see the character of Hilary's faith, and the bent of his mind. He was beyond all reasonable cavil a true adherent to the Nicene faith. He was not, however, a Greek, and cared little for the hair-splitting distinctions over which Orientals of the same substantial opinions would haggle until they became bitter enemies. During the formative period he found but few Eastern bishops who were willing to state their belief in the precise terms upon which the Church finally settled ; but there were not a few belonging nominally to the semi-Arian party, who were practically very near to if not actually at one with him at heart. Instead, therefore, of separating himself from such, and writing home—as the zealots who had criticised his book would have written—that Christianity had died out from the East, he writes a discriminating account of the

faith of these bishops as set forth by the several councils. While every palpable and intentional thrust at the divinity of the Son, on the part of the Arians, is earnestly combated, he will wage no war of words with good men who state their faith in the Eternal Word, with an *α* instead of an *ο*, and therefore he commends utterances which stricter Athanasius would by no means have received. Perhaps the weightier opinion assigns the work on the Trinity to the latter part of his stay in the East. It was the first serious attempt to compass this grand theme in the Latin tongue, and so complete was its treatment that the book has always remained side by side with Athanasius's Orations, one of the classic utterances of the Church upon this mystery. Hilary attended the Council of Seleucia, A. D. 359, when he sided with the Homoiousians as against the Arians. Going thence to Constantinople, he presented his second address to Constantius in person, and seems to have made his influence felt against the Arian champions. Possibly on this account he was soon sent back to his diocese. Experience had now fitted him for earnest and effective work, and it was due to his influence alone, says Sulpicius Severus, that France was happily delivered from the Arian heresy. Without tracing his labors, we note several books now written. His "Book against Auxentius," A. D. 366, was called out by what he terms a hypocritical acceptance by this bishop of the orthodox symbols, at the recent Council of Milan. The date of the intemperate "Address against Constantius" is in doubt, but it belongs most probably to this period, as does also a book upon the

Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia, from which most of his "Fragments" have been compiled.

We can only allude to opinions of Jerome and Rufinus concerning Hilary. The former called him "The Rhône of Latin eloquence," on account of his impetuous speech, which carried all before it; and the latter says that he labored with great success because he was of a sweet and mild disposition, and withal of great learning, and every way qualified for persuading.

He died in January, A. D. 368.

TWELVE BOOKS OF THE TRINITY.

In Book I, Hilary, after giving the views of philosophy concerning happiness and God, shows how the Christian is sustained by the accurate and sublime knowledge of God and immortality obtained from the Scriptures, especially from the Gospel of John. Yet, even with this knowledge, God's highest majesty surpassed the comprehension of the human spirit, and is only reached by faith. Heresies arise through that human pride which would narrow all belief to the limits of the human understanding, instead of submitting to the authority of the Divine Oracles. He will oppose two heresies in particular, namely, the Arian and the Sabellian.

Book II treats generally of the truth of the Trinity, and particularly of the office and dignity of each person. This mystery, Hilary declares, is sufficiently taught in the office of baptism. After referring to the origin of heresies, he says that he enters upon the discussion of such mysterious things with great fear, since they can not be adequately set forth in words. He also ridicules those who will not receive the mystery of Christ's birth, when there are so many mysteries connected with their

own lives. The Scripture is a medicine which serves for the healing of all diseases, as witness these passages [here cited] against Ebion and Arius. The Holy Spirit, divine in nature and office, exists separately from the Son. The gift of this spirit is needed for men's salvation.

In Book III is advocated the truth of the eternal generation as against all human reasoning. The words of Christ, "I am in the Father, and the Father in me," though incomprehensible by the reason alone, are made clear by the teaching of the Scriptures. The miracles of Christ can not be comprehended, yet are received; why not, then, the doctrine of the eternal generation? After citing various passages proving the equality of the Son and the Father, the author shows how much better it is humbly to receive the truth than to depend upon the wisdom of the wise, which God will bring to naught.

Book IV begins the formal refutation of the Arians, defending the truth that the Son is and always was of like nature with the Father. Here Hilary cites various passages used by the Arians in defense of their position, and gives the confession of faith presented by Arius to the Alexandrian bishop. The passage "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord," does not deny a plurality of persons, for Moses himself in other scriptures, as, for example, in "Let *us* make man in *our* image," teaches such plurality. By many passages this plurality of persons, as well as the unity of the divine nature, is proved.

Book V continues the argument of Book IV, proving substantially (1) that the Logos is God, and (2) that this does not derogate from the unity of the Divine Substance. Thus far, only Old Testament proofs are given.

Book VI. The Arian poison is so widely spread

through the Roman Empire that it will be very difficult to resist ; nevertheless, duty requires this attempt, and many may be gained to the truth.

The Arian creed is again cited and examined, and the doctrine of the heretics, according to which they exhibit Christ as a Son by adoption, as God in name, as Only-Begotten through pre-eminence, and as First-Born according to his rank in creation.

Making use now of the gospels, he shows that Christ is the true and natural Son of God, adducing the testimony of the Father, of the Son himself, of Peter, Paul, John, Martha, the man born blind, the demons, and the Jews, as well as the confessions of heathen.

In Book VII is shown the craftiness of the various heretics, who severally use the arguments which the Church adduces against their extreme opponents, to substantiate their own equally erroneous opinions. Still, the truth is so powerful that she stands against them all.

“For great is the power of the truth, which when it can not be apprehended by itself is yet made clear even by that which opposes it ; so that it remains in its nature immovable, and, though daily assailed, it acquires firmness of nature.

“For this is peculiar to the Church, that when she is wounded she triumphs, when she is criticised she passes judgment, when she is abandoned she is the gainer. She wishes that all might continue in her bosom, but when heretics go out or are cast out from her, while she loses the occasion of giving them salvation, she yet gains in seeing the happiness of such as remain.”

Pursuing the argument, Hilary seeks to prove that Jesus is the true Son of God according to nature, using for this purpose passages from the four gospels.

Book VIII sets forth the natural unity of the

Son and the Father. "I and my Father are one," the Lord's own words, are not to be wrested to denote simple oneness of will. Among many other proofs of this oneness of nature is this: that because in him dwells the fullness of the Godhead bodily, and, as he is thus in possession of what God is, he must be one with God. With the unity of nature the difference of person is also here maintained. At the beginning of the book Hilary had spoken of the qualifications of a bishop. Neither purity of conduct without knowledge, nor knowledge without purity, is enough, "for, if he be pious and illiterate, he can only profit himself; if he be learned and without piety, his work will be unfruitful."

Book IX continues the argument of the previous book, and defends the doctrine against the objections of the heretics. Among the passages cited by the Arians are the following: "Why callest thou me good? There is none good but one, that is God." "This is life eternal to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." "The Son can do nothing of himself." "My Father is greater than I."

The last he answers thus: This is rightly said, because he is the Father of the Son, who, however, can not be declared according to his appearance the slave of the Father. But the Father is greater than the Son, because he gives to him what he himself is: the Son is thus not less than the Father, because he possesses all that the Father is. In this book the heretics are charged with an unfair use of Scripture, by quoting passages out of their connection:

"But while they neither understand these things aright, nor distinguish as to occasions, nor receive in accordance with the mystery of the gospel, nor judge according to the sense of the words, they

speaking against the divine nature with a foolish and ignorant rage, and rehearse, for the filling of the ears of the unlearned, only the passage, and that out of its connection, with omission of its full meaning and its motive ; notwithstanding that one must ascertain the sense of words, either by what precedes or what follows."—*Chap. ii.*

Book X takes up various objections made by individuals—not in common by all Arians—and refutes them. For example, fear is attributed to our Lord. This is to be understood of him in his human nature, which was complete.

In like manner, as man, he suffered hunger, fatigue, etc., though not liable to them by any natural necessity, since he had never sinned.

Book XI is devoted mainly to an exposition of two passages claimed by the Arians.

The first of these, "I ascend to my Father, and your Father, and to my God, and your God" (John xx, 17), he proves to have been spoken by the Lord as a man, for he had just said, "Go to my brethren and say unto them."

The other passage, "Then cometh the end when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father, . . . then shall the Son also be subject unto him who put all things under him, that God may be all in all" (1 Cor. xv, 24, 28), the Arians use to prove the inferiority of Christ's nature—that he must be deprived of his dignity, and, even as a creature, cease to be. To this Hilary answers that the word *end* does not refer to any cessation of being, but to a certain fixedness of condition ; and that the giving up of the kingdom to the Father will not involve a deprivation of the Son, any more than when the Father delivered the kingdom to the Son, he himself was deprived of it. Further, the surrender of the kingdom is a mysterious dispensation of God, and does not involve

servitude as a consequence. Finally, showing the nature and ground of this giving up, Hilary proves that it does not serve for the behoof of God, to whom nothing is wanting, nor of the only-begotten Son, who is alike unchangeable, but of us alone.

This exposition was so satisfactory to Jerome, that once, upon being asked for an exposition of the passage, he expressed surprise, since the bishop of Poitiers had here left nothing to be said.

Book XII. Here is maintained the eternal and divine generation of Christ, as against the assertions of the Arians that "he was not before he was born," and that "he was made out of nothing." In spite, also, of the words of wisdom, in Proverbs viii, 25, which the Septuagint erroneously renders, "The Lord created me the beginning of his ways." Hilary, without denying the correctness of this translation, argues that Christ can not be a creature: 1. Because he is worshiped, although the worship of a creature is forbidden. 2. Because all things were made by him, and the name creator is applied to him. 3. Because he can not be subject to those affections which belong to the creature. 4. Because, having the form, he has the nature of God; for, if Christ, having the form of God, is a creature, the Father also may be a creature. 5. Because like honor must be paid to the Father and the Son. 6. Because, by the word *bosom*, the Father indicates that he had begotten Christ out of his own being. 7. Because the Father always calls him his own Son, and Christ calls God his own Father, while, when other sons are spoken of, they are created, not born.

After other similar reasoning, Hilary goes on to prove the eternity of the Son out of the writings of Solomon, David, and Paul, and by the testimonies of Wisdom, to refute the irreligious expositions of the heretics, drawn from this same Wisdom. He closes with a prayer to be preserved in the faith in

the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which he had received at baptism.

BOOK OF SYNODS : THE FAITH OF THE ORIENTALS.

This next most important work of Hilary was written during his banishment in the East (*cir.* A. D. 359), and was addressed to the bishops of Gaul, Germany, and Britain. It contains ninety-two chapters. After commending the bishops for their constancy in opposing Saturninus, and their zeal in maintaining the true faith against the Arians, he undertakes to explain the creeds made by the Eastern bishops after the Council of Nice and down to the Council of Ancyra. His immediate object is to interest the bishops in anticipation of the approaching Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia. If, he says, there was error in some of those creeds, it should not be attributed to him, since he only relates what others have said. Nor should the praise be his for what accords with the doctrine of the apostles, but should be given to the Oriental bishops.

The first important utterance of a council which is given is the Arian creed, known as the Sirmian. This Hilary repudiates and anathematizes in twelve particulars. Then follow the opinions set forth by the Council of Antioch (A. D. 341), convened at the dedication of the grand church, described by Eusebius. Though these opinions are semi-Arian, Hilary speaks of the council as an assembly of saints, and would not repudiate their work. As a moderate statement, approved by candid men of both of the great parties in the Church, it is worthy of our reading. It is as follows :

Formulary of the Dedication.

" We believe, conformably to the evangelical and apostolical tradition, in one God, the Father Almighty, the

Framer, and Maker, and Preserver of the Universe, from whom are all things.

“And in One Lord Jesus Christ, his Only-Begotten Son, God, by whom are all things, who was begotten before all ages from the Father, God from God, whole from whole, sole from sole, perfect from perfect, King from King, Lord from Lord, Living Word, Living Wisdom, true Light, Way, Truth, Resurrection, Shepherd, Door, both unalterable and unchangeable; unvarying image of the Godhead, Substance, Will, Power, and Glory of the Father; the first-born of every creature, who was in the beginning with God, God the Word, as it is written in the Gospel, ‘and the Word was God’; by whom all things were made, and in whom all things consist; who in the last days descended from above, and was born of a Virgin according to the Scriptures, and was made Man, Mediator between God and man, and Apostle of our faith, and Prince of life, as He says, ‘I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me’; who suffered for us and rose again on the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and is coming again with glory and power, to judge quick and dead.

“And in the Holy Ghost, who is given to those who believe for comfort, and sanctification, and initiation, as also our Lord Jesus Christ enjoined His disciples, saying, ‘Go ye, teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost’; that of Father being truly Father, and of Son being truly Son, and of Holy Ghost being truly Holy Ghost, the names not being given without meaning or effect, but denoting accurately the peculiar subsistence, rank, and glory of each that is named, so that they are three in subsistence, and in agreement one.

“Holding then this faith, and holding it in the presence of God and Christ, from beginning to end, we anathematize every heretical heterodoxy. And if any teaches, beside the sound and right faith of the Scriptures, that time, or season, or age, either is or has been before the generation of the Son, be he anathema. Or if any one says, that the Son is a creature as one of the creatures, or an offspring as one of the offsprings, or a work as one of the works, and not the aforesaid articles one after another,

as the divine Scriptures have delivered, or if he teaches or preaches beside what we received, be he anathema. For all that has been delivered in the divine Scriptures, whether by Prophets or Apostles, do we truly and conscientiously believe and follow."

Next is given the confession drawn up by the Eastern section of the Council of Sardica, which withdrew to Philippopolis. It speaks of the Son of God as "begotten of the Father before all worlds, God of God, who created all things," and anathematizes those who say that "there are three Gods, or that Jesus Christ is not God, or that there is not one Christ only, the Son of God, or that he is the same person with the Father and the Holy Ghost."

Again, the first creed of the Council at Sirmium is given. This was drawn up for the purpose of combating the Sabellian writings of Photinus. Its concluding article is as follows: "And in accurate delineation of the idea of Christianity we say this again: Whosoever shall not say that Christ is God, Son of God, as being before ages, and having subserved the Father in the framing of the universe, but that from the time that he was born of Mary, from thence he was called Christ and Son, and took an origin of being God, be he anathema." This creed also, as well as the preceding, Hilary accepts, and he apologizes for the multitude of utterances by the Eastern bishop, on the ground of the persistent utterances of the heretics. In the provinces to which he was banished there were only a few bishops who acknowledged the divinity of the Word. They, the Western bishops, are congratulated on having the apostolical faith engraved on their hearts, though they are ignorant of confessions written by men's hands. For Hilary declares that he himself, though regenerated long since, and for a time a bishop, had never heard the Nicene creed until his exile.

COMMENTARIES.

Jerome speaks of these as being taken largely from Origen, whose commentaries Hilary had had expounded to him by Heliodorus. We have an exposition of the Gospel by Matthew and of the Psalms.

Matthew.

The principal verses of the several chapters are expounded historically and spiritually. The comments are short but full of substance, and concisely expressed. The following brief extracts may suggest the tone of the work :

“The rising of the star, which was discovered by the wise men, indicated that soon the heathen would believe in Christ, and that men whose faith was far removed from the knowledge of the divine truth would know of the light which shone immediately upon his advent. Further, the offering of the gifts expressed a knowledge of his whole nature. In them he was recognized by the gold as king, by the frankincense as God, by the myrrh as man. Consequently their homage gave proclamation of all the mysteries : in the man, that of death ; in God, that of the resurrection ; in the king, that of judgment.”—*Chap. ii, sec. 5.*

“And truly the confession of Peter received a worthy praise, because he had seen the Son of God in the man. Blessed is he to whom falls the praise that he has grasped and seen more than mortal eyes ; while he did not direct his sight upon what was flesh and blood, but through the revelation of the heavenly Father looked upon the Son of God, and held that which was in Christ from God, worthy of the first attention. . . . O blessed door-keeper of heaven, to whose judgment are committed the keys to eternal life, whose sentence upon earth has beforehand power in heaven ! so that upon that which is bound or

loosed upon earth a decision of the same kind will be pronounced in heaven."—*Chap. xvi, sec. 7.*

A curious opinion is expressed in chapter xxv, that the last judgment will take place upon the spot where Christ suffered.

Psalms.

The comments are discriminating and suggestive, and many of them of great value.

Speaking of an unworthy fear, the writer says : "It is not so with the fear of the Lord, of which it is written : 'Come, ye children, hearken unto me : I will teach you the fear of the Lord' (Ps. xxxiv, 11). Here is no strong, impetuous commotion, by which the soul is consumed, but a reason enlightened by the divine teachings. It is acquired by an observance of the commandments, by the acts of a pure and innocent life, by the knowledge of the truth. For one ought not to fear God because many have been destroyed by thunder-bolts, because others have perished by earthquakes, and others have been buried under ruins, since faith merits nothing in any fear which a thousand accidents can excite in us. The fear of the Lord in the faithful soul consists wholly in love ; that is the direction in which the fear of the Lord in us becomes supreme. Now, the principal duty of our love toward him is to obey his precepts, to live according to his maxims, to believe his promises."

List of Hilary's Works.

1. On the Synods, and an apology for the same.
2. The Twelve Books on the Trinity.
3. Two Addresses to the Emperor Constantius.
4. An Address against the Emperor Constantius.
5. A Book against the Arians, or against Auxentius.
6. Certain "Fragments" compiled chiefly from a book upon the Councils of Seleucia and Ariminum.
7. Commentaries upon the Psalms and upon Matthew.

A M B R O S E ,

THE knightly bishop. That chivalrous spirit, forgetful of self in the glory of serving the cause in distress, which culminated in the Crusades to rescue the tomb of Christ, was by those Crusades simply testifying of its origin. For it was a flower of Christianity. The old paganism knew nothing of it. True, there were Roman knights ; but their plumes never bowed with the grace of humility, and their strength never gloried in being spent for the weak. Such a knight our Ambrose might have been had he lived in the days of the republic. For he was of noble birth, was cradled in the palace of a prætorian prefect, and was educated at Rome in such a manner as to fit him for the highest offices of state. Arriving at manhood, he at first practiced as an advocate in the court of the prætorian prefect of Italy, by whom in the year 374 he was appointed governor of Liguria and Emilia, with the rank of senator. He was now thirty-four years of age, a man of brilliant parts, and of such principles that, when leaving for Milan, which was to be his seat of government, the prefect is said to have dismissed him with the words, "Go and conduct yourself not as a judge, but as a bishop." The words had a meaning beyond the speaker's thought ; for within a year Ambrose, layman as he now was, and unbaptized, was chosen by the suffrage of the people bishop of Milan. A few months after Ambrose's arrival in the city, Auxentius, then bishop, had died, and, owing to the feeling between the

Arian and Orthodox parties, the appointment of his successor threatened to be a serious matter. To preserve peace, Ambrose entered the church where the synod was assembled, and exhorted the people who had thronged thither to concord and quietness. Suddenly, no one knew whence—some said it was the voice of a child—rose the cry, "Ambrose is bishop!" This proved the desired solution. Both parties took up the cry, and Ambrose, shrinking from the office, flying and hiding from the importunities of the city, was yet at last induced to submit, and after baptism changed the consular for the episcopal robes. The change to be noted was not so much a change in actual power; for no less real than the power of the sword was the power which the dignitaries of the church were then coming to exercise. It was rather in the spirit in which the new bishop accepted his power, not as his own, but as a sacred trust, to be exercised for the poor, the oppressed, the sorrowing, the sinful of earth. And never Knight of the Round Table used his sword more chivalrously than Ambrose used his episcopal staff. Never knight of the Cross battled more boldly with Saracen for the Holy Sepulchre than he battled with Arians for the possession of the Church. Before the death of the orthodox Emperor Valentinian, and by his aid, Ambrose had begun to undo the work of his Arian predecessor Auxentius. The next emperor, Gratian, was also favorable to the Nicene doctrine; but after his death the Empress Justina espoused the Arian cause with much earnestness. She requested the use of one of the churches in Milan for Arian wor-

ship, but Ambrose refused it ; and when violence was threatened, the people flocked to the churches and filled them day and night, relieving one another by turns, and so secured their possession. Later, efforts were made to seize the church where Ambrose himself officiated and even to arrest him, but in the crisis he was true to his people and they to him. He had been ordered by the emperor either to meet the Arian Auxentius in a conference before secular authorities or to leave the city. Declining the conference, some of the people were for a moment fearful lest he should desert them ; but as they thronged his church he assured them of his fidelity and his purpose to hold what had been intrusted to him. "Come what may," he said, in his address, "our answer to the demand of Auxentius will be that of Naboth in our lesson to-day, 'The Lord forbid it me that I should give up the inheritance of my fathers unto thee,' the inheritance of Dionysius, Eustorgius, Myrocles, and all the confessors and martyrs who have preceded me here." It was probably at this time of protracted occupation of the churches that, to relieve the tedium of the people, the Eastern practice of antiphonal chanting was introduced, and the new hymnology of the West had its birth.

But Ambrose had need of courage in the meeting of friends as well as in the repelling of enemies. Theodosius the Great was a firm supporter of Orthodoxy and of Ambrose ; but this did not prevent his perpetrating in a rage the terrible massacre at Thessalonica. In the churches of the East this might have been no bar to the communion of an

emperor ; but Ambrose did not so conceive of the rites of the Church or of the rights of rulers. Meeting the emperor, who had come to his church for worship, at the church-door, he turned him back, and, if the words put into the prelate's mouth by Theodoret and the "judicious" Hooker are somewhat overwrought, we may believe that Theodosius was made to feel the supremacy of Heaven over earth. Leastwise Ambrose did not admit him to communion until he had done penance for his sin.

We can not trace the events of this noble life. Suffice it that the bishop who had laid aside the offices of state was more even to the state than prefects and armies ; while to the Church, and to the "little ones" of the kingdom to which he had given himself—to the poor and the captive and the distressed—he was a man with few peers in the Christian ministry.

Ambrose was a constant writer, and his extant works are somewhat numerous. His theological writings are mainly upon subjects connected with the Trinity. He wrote also in favor of the ascetical life ; but his most important book is that upon the duties of ministers. His power as a preacher and influence as a pastor are abundantly testified by the "Confessions" of Augustine, who was converted under his ministrations. He died the day before Easter, A. D. 397.

MORAL AND DOGMATIC WORKS.

De Officiis Ministrorum.

This work, written about A. D. 391, somewhat resembles in form Cicero's treatise "*De Officiis*," by which it was doubtless suggested to Ambrose. But,

while less eloquent than the classic work, the Christian treatise moves upon a higher plane, aiming not only to train man for earth, but also to fit him for heaven. It treats more particularly of the obligations of clergymen, but also embraces the duties of all Christians.

Two classes of obligations are recognized : (1) those enjoined alike upon all, and (2) those commended to such as would be spiritually advanced, or those pertaining to the less perfect and the more perfect.

Book I. The first six chapters are a preface upon speaking and keeping silence, in which it is shown that the proper office of a bishop is to teach ; yet speech has dangers which are to be avoided by a judicious refuge in silence. The Christian law, however, does not enjoin absolute silence, but rather the proper care of the tongue. Entering upon his theme, Ambrose says that the word *officium* (variously translated "service," "duty," "obligation") was not peculiar to the philosopher, but was used in Scripture (Luke i, 23) of the ministry (*λειτουργίας*) of Zacharias. Obligations were known to the philosophers as (1) of fitness, (2) of profit, (3) of pleasure. He will trust only to the first, since they only have reference to the future life. The idea of fitness was taught by the Scriptures earlier than by the philosophers, as in Psalm lxxv, 2. The common obligations are such as are enjoined in the commandments, of which the Lord reminded the young man who would be perfect. The higher obligations are such as the selling of all we have, to give to the poor. Let none be remiss as to these obligations, from the idea that God is oblivious to men's works, and that the wicked are prospered equally with the just. The real rewards are in the future.

Among general rules of conduct here considered,

a modest behavior is specially commended to young men. For the preserving of this virtue, association with the intemperate, feasts, and conversation with women, are to be shunned. Leisure hours should be spent at home in pious and befitting studies. Joking, though it be sometimes harmless, should, nevertheless, be wholly proscribed among ecclesiastics. Three things should be observed: The appetite should be subjected to the reason; moderation should be observed; and everything should be done in its own time and place.

Treating of specific virtues, justice is said to be a piety which is exercised, first, toward God; secondly, toward country; thirdly, toward parents—in like manner, toward all. If at an early age, when first the sense of sharing begins, we love life as the gift of God, we esteem country and parents, afterward we desire the companionship of our equals. Hence is born charity, which prefers others to self, seeking not her own; whence is the pre-eminence of justice.

But ideas of justice held by the philosophers are excluded by the gospel. For injuries may not be requited, hence we should have the spirit of the Son of man, who came to confer blessings, not to inflict injuries. This justice has no private interest, but extends even to our enemies.

Beneficence, the next virtue treated, is made up of benevolence and liberality. It involves right motives as well as correct conduct. Liberality is not to be exercised for the reward. That is true liberality which is concealed by our silence—when the lips of the pauper, not our own tongues, praise us.

The strength (*fortitudo*) in which Christians chiefly glory is not physical, but is a virtue of the soul, and is exercised, not in inflicting, but in guarding against, injuries.

Examples of these virtues are given in Job and other Scripture characters; also in the holy Agnes and the holy Lawrence. Agnes, being put in peril of her chastity and her life, preserved her chastity, and bartered her life for immortality. Lawrence, a holy deacon, seeing his bishop led away to martyrdom, complained that he was being deserted, whereupon the bishop responded that he was only reserved for a fiercer combat, and would in three days be where he was. After this time, when he was roasted upon a gridiron, he mocked his torturer, saying, "I am roasted enough, turn me and eat me"; so overcoming the violence of fire by the strength of his courage.

Temperance, a fourth virtue, is said to consist in tranquillity of soul, in the moderating of the passions, in discretion, and in a certain reserve. Let one seek to know himself, and not be above or below any obligation.

At the close of the book some of the more specific obligations of clergymen are treated. They are to be of good report, not only among the faithful, but also with those without.

Second marriages unfit for the sacred office, in which widows are to be exhorted to remain in widowhood. Those who have received the gift of the holy ministry must keep it immaculate, unviolated by any conjugal union.

Book II. The first chapters treat of true happiness, which is shown to consist in the knowledge of God and in innocency of life. Other things do not even add to our happiness, much less make us supremely happy; and, on the contrary, the miseries of life can not make us unhappy. The good things of this world are evils in hindering men from working out their salvation; and the evil things are good in leading us to the exercise of virtue.

As to the obligations of utility, we understand

that usefulness is not to be reckoned by a money estimate, but by the acquisition of piety.

That only is useful which is fitting, which is just. Friendship, fidelity, liberality, civility, the protection of the poor, etc., are necessary for the maintenance of society. Speaking of some of these, it is said that nothing is more profitable than to be loved.

Mildness and civility cause us to be loved by all, which virtues also maintain peace and charity. Again, our liberality to the poor should be exercised with prudence, lest it become useless ; and this discretion should be especially observed by priests, that they may dispense, not according to vanity, but according to justice. For often there is great avidity on the part of the petitioners. Strong and vigorous men come, vagabonds who solicit aid to which only the truly indigent have a claim—they are contentious, exacting, imperious. There is need of reserve in our liberality to such. There are those who pretend to be in debt ; let the truth be found out. They tell us of robberies suffered ; let this be verified. With such discretion we shall not be avaricious toward any, but liberal to all ; for we should have not only ears for hearing the demands, but also eyes for beholding the necessities, of those who call upon us. There is in the feebleness and abasement of the pauper a voice far more eloquent than words. We must not give way before impudence. We must see him who does not see us ; seek him out who blushes to be seen ; the prisoner and the sick, let us seek them. The more we bestow judiciously, the more we shall have to bestow.

As to the further duties of clergymen, chapter xxiv says : We must not carry ourselves proudly in our offices, nor estrange ourselves from them by negligence ; we must equally shun ambition and affectation. Simplicity and uprightness comprehend all, and these are indeed commendable. In

his ministry, one must not be too severe nor too remiss. The wicked must not be defended, nor holy things given to the unworthy ; neither are we to reprove and condemn any one until he is convicted of fault. In the church, above all places, impartiality should be observed. The rich and the powerful should have no more authority than the poor, for in Christ they are one. The most holy should attribute nothing more to others than to himself, for, the more holy he is, the more humble he should be. That we may not make enemies, we should not meddle with judging or opposing. When a matter of interest is under debate, nothing can be said ; but when the cause of God is at stake, or it is to be feared that the impious will be admitted to the communion of the church, then it becomes a heinous sin for a clergyman to use dissimulation.

As to the regard of ministers for riches, Ambrose says that he had broken the sacred vessels of the church and used them to redeem captives, and he deems that the proper use of the consecrated wealth. The Church was founded without gold : if she has it now, it is to give it, not to keep it ; it is to give to the poor in their necessities. What would be said of a bishop who, to preserve the lifeless vessels, should suffer the living member of Christ to perish ? It is not necessary that the sacraments of the altar be administered in gold and silver. The redemption of captives is an ornament much more pleasing in the sight of God. The true treasure of the Lord is that which has the same effect with his blood. This true estimate of the wealth of the Church was shown by the holy Lawrence. The treasures of his church being demanded of him, he promised to show them, and the next day brought his poor. When asked where the treasures were, he pointed to these paupers, saying, " These are the treasures of the Church." And truly they are treasures in whom

is Christ, in whom is the faith. It was of such that He said, "I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat," etc.

Funds that are deposited with the church by widows are to be kept with faithfulness and courage.

Book III. Scipio's maxim, that he was never more busy nor less alone than when he was by himself, was verified in a more illustrious manner in Moses, and the prophets, and the apostles.

A just man is never alone, because he is always with God ; he is never idle, because he is always meditating. When he is thought to be dead he then enjoys a happy life ; he is never more joyful than when others think him to be under affliction ; he is never richer than when he is poor, because he places all his happiness in what is just and honest. Instead of distinguishing, with the philosophers, between the good of honesty and the good of profit, Christians distinguish between that good or duty which is more perfect and that which is less perfect. The just man ought never to seek his own profit by doing injury to others ; on the contrary, he should seek the good of others above his own. As an application of this principle, a Christian in a shipwreck ought not to snatch from his brother a plank which he has seized to save himself. Nor ought one, even in case of being attacked by robbers, to save his own life by putting another to death. The philosophers were right in saying that the wise man should do nothing against duty, even though he were secure from discovery, but they were unable to cite any examples of such action, like David or John the Baptist, and had to resort to the fable of Gyges' ring.

The unselfish principle forbids one who has gathered much corn to keep it in his store until a time of famine, and then extort it. This practice is a kind of usury or

may urge the example of Joseph : but he made granaries to open them to all, not to keep them closed ; not to gain in the price of the wheat, but to make of it a real resource for the future ; not for his own personal advantage, but by the wisdom of his precautions to prevent the return of like calamities.

Nor, again, ought strangers to be shut out of cities in times of famine, as had recently been done at Rome, whence the aged had actually been expelled, on the ground that they were useless mouths to feed. Those who are so intent upon sordid gains as to defraud their neighbors of their goods are to be blamed severely ; but, above all, is such covetousness insupportable in clergymen. They ought never to interfere with the liberty of dying men to keep them from making their wills with discretion, or to divert their estates from the rightful inheritors to their own uses.

In the matter of vows, chapter xii declares that one should promise nothing which is not legitimate, nor should one deem himself bound by an unjust oath. In such a case there is less of evil in breaking one's word than in keeping it at the expense of honor. Numerous Scripture examples illustrate these teachings.

The last chapter discourses of Christian friendship. Friendship, it is said, should give place to honesty. No man ought to favor his friend when he is in the wrong, nor to deal unjustly with him when he is in the right. As we ought to vindicate a friend who is innocent, we ought to reprove one who is guilty : we should speak to him with sincerity, suffer for him when it is necessary, and relieve him in want. The foundation of friendship is faith in God, and no man can be a true friend to another who is an infidel toward God. Piety preserves friendship and makes friends equal. There can be no friendship between those of different principles. Friend-

ships should not be founded upon interest, for friendship is a virtue, and not a matter of traffic.

On the Mysteries.

A Protestant writer has lately expressed satisfaction that this work treats of but two sacraments, instead of the seven recognized by the Roman Church. While it is true that no reference is made to seven sacraments, it must yet be confessed that a rite closely akin to confirmation is placed between baptism and the receiving the eucharist, and that it is designated by the word *sacramentum*, the same that is used of baptism and the eucharist. Indeed, Catholic writers rejoice in this work as a most precious treasure of antiquity, chiefly because it seems to them to confirm the Catholic as opposed to the Protestant doctrine of the sacraments. It is a book of instruction to the newly baptized, as to the ceremonies of induction into the church. The exposition of these mysteries, before the candidates had been initiated, would have been a profanation, and they could not have been understood. Therefore open now your ears, and receive the good odor of eternal life, inhaled by you in the gift of the sacraments, which we signified to you in celebrating the mystery by saying "Ephatha," that all who had come might know what was asked of them, and what they should respond. After this you are introduced into the holy place of regeneration [the baptism], where you renounce the devil and his works, the world and its pomp and pleasures. Here you see waters, and ministering Levites, and the priest questioning and consecrating. The body is submerged in the water, that all carnal sin may be washed away; upon the water the Spirit descends. Do not you, therefore, look to the visible water for cleansing. Know, rather, that not the water but the Spirit cleanses. Then you have learned that in

baptism these things are one, the Spirit, the water, and the blood ; because, if one of these be wanting, the sacrament of baptism is not complete. For what is water without the cross of Christ? A common element, without any power of a sacrament. Neither, again, without water is there the mystery of regeneration. The candidate, however, believes in the cross of Jesus Christ, by which also he is signed. Yet, unless he is baptized in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Ghost, he can not receive the remission of sins, nor partake of the spiritual grace. Being so baptized, you are dead to sin, and alive unto eternal life. Believe, therefore, that the waters are not void, but the Spirit has descended to sanctify thee. You consider not the merit of the persons, but rather the office of the priests, and that, invoked by his prayer, the Lord Jesus is present. Having professed a like faith in the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, save that you recognized the cross of the Lord Jesus, you ascended from the font, and in the anointing were inducted by spiritual grace into the kingdom of God, and into the priesthood. Then, by the washing of your feet, your hereditary sins were blotted out, as your own sins were purged in baptism. After this you received white garments, to signify that you were stripped of sin and clothed with innocence. Here Ambrose introduces the figurative representation of the book of Canticles. The Lord converses with his love the Church, and finally says to her, "Set me as a seal upon thine heart, as a seal upon thine arm" (chap. viii, 6) ; that is to say, nothing is wanting to thee. This "set me as a seal upon thy heart" recalls the seal [of confirmation, most interpreters would say] by which the faith of the candidate is now made to shine.* This is the seal of the Spirit, the Spirit of

* "*Pone me ut signaculum in cor tuum ; quo fides tua pleno fulgeat sacramento.*"

wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and might, the Spirit of knowledge and piety, the Spirit of holy fear.

Then you ran to the altar of Christ, and saw the altar prepared. More ancient and more excellent than the manna of the Jews is this living bread which came down from heaven, whereof if one eats he shall not die eternally, which is the body of Christ. You say, perhaps, "I see something else; how do you assure me that I receive the body of Christ?" We must prove that this is not what nature found, but what the benediction consecrated; and that the power of the benediction is greater than that of nature, since nature itself is changed by the benediction. Numerous miracles wrought by Hosea and Elisha are then adduced to show that the grace even of a prophet's benediction was more powerful than nature. What, then, shall we say of the divine consecration itself, in which the very words of the Lord our Saviour operate! For this sacrament which you receive is made by the word of Jesus Christ. If the word of Elias was of such power as to bring down fire from heaven, shall not the word of Christ be able to change the nature of the elements?

But why do we argue? The order of nature was not followed when the Lord Jesus was born of Mary. And he himself said, "This is my body." Before the consecration is made in the celestial words, we do call it something else; after the consecration, it is called the body. He himself said that it was his blood. Before the consecration it is called otherwise; after the consecration it is pronounced blood, and you respond, "Amen." Christ is in the sacrament, because it is the body of Christ. It is not, therefore, a physical, but a spiritual food; for the body of God is spiritual. This heavenly meat gives us strength, this divine drink rejoices our heart. Having thus received, let us know ourselves

to be regenerated ; and not say, " How can we be regenerated ? " It is not of nature, but of grace.

Five Books of Faith.

The Emperor Gratian, preparing to march into the East, asked of Ambrose a treatise upon the divinity of Jesus Christ, as a safeguard against the Oriental Arianism. The bishop sent to him the first two books of this treatise.

In these he confutes, in a summary manner, the errors of Sabellius, Photinus, and Arius. Subsequently, the reasoning of these books having been criticised as dealing too cursorily with the Arian arguments, three more books were added. The line of thought was very like that pursued by the earlier champions of the Nicene faith. All that the Scriptures say of the Son as inferior to the Father is explained, emphasizing the distinction between the two natures in Jesus Christ. As man, he doubts and is troubled ; as man, he weeps and is crucified. The flesh then suffered, but the divinity was free from death. The body yielded by the law of human nature to suffering ; but could the divinity be subject to death, when the soul can not die ? When he prayed, it was as a man ; when he would have his divinity recognized, he spoke with command. A prayer in the last chapter of the work recognizes Father, Son, and Spirit as alike illimitable, incomprehensible, and ineffable. In this prayer there is reference to Arius as, like his father the devil, illicitly usurping place by arrogating to himself knowledge. Even Paul, who was caught up to the third heaven, said of divine things, " God knows." Arius said, " I know."

On the Holy Spirit.

This work, in three books, was made up chiefly from the treatise of Didymus of Alexandria, and

contains little that is noteworthy. One passage in it has been made a subject of considerable discussion between those who assert and those who deny the primacy of the Apostle Peter :

"Paul is not inferior to Peter. If the latter was the foundation of the church, the former was the wise architect, knowing how to make firm the steps of the believing people. Nor was Paul, I say, unworthy of the college of the apostles, since he was easily comparable with the first, and was second to none.

"He who admits no inferiority declares that he is in the same rank."—*Book II, chap. xiii.*

On the Incarnation.

This book traverses much the same ground with that of the treatise on faith.

A single brief extract from the body of the work must suffice : "He was, then, immortal even in death, impassible even in suffering. For, as the calamity of death had not seized upon God, the infernal regions beheld him as man. For 'he gave up the ghost,' but, as the arbiter of death and life to the body, he thus gave up the spirit, he did not lose it. He was suspended on the cross, and he moved the world. Made sin for all, he purged the sins of the human race. At last he is dead ; and again and again, with joy and triumph, I cry, 'He is dead,' that his death may become the life of the dead."—*Chap. v.*

Three Books of Virgins.

Ambrose wrote six treatises relating to the celibate life. One of these is an exhortation to virginity, and one maintains the perpetual virginity of Mary. The most noteworthy, however, was this work, in three books, addressed to his sister Marcellina.

It relates at the outset the example of St. Agnes, and then points out the advantages of virginity over the married life.

It is indeed the angelic life. The people of Milan, he complains, discourage their daughters from thus consecrating themselves, while the faithful come from other cities in great numbers, and even from Mauritania, to make the profession.

Many examples of holy virgins are adduced, first among them the Virgin Mary. There is given an address, said to have been made by Pope Liberius to Marcellina, upon the occasion of her making profession of virginity. Ambrose praises the virtues of his sister, dissuades her from too rigid fastings, and exhorts her to prayer. She should avoid mirth and dancing. In answer to an inquiry which Marcellina had made, he says that the zeal of those who destroy themselves, rather than fall into the hands of those who would dishonor them, is not forbidden.

Two Books of Penitence.

The first of these is mainly devoted to opposing the alleged errors of the Novatians or Puritans of that day, who denied the power of the Church to grant absolution, and refused communion to those who had sinned after baptism. Against their harshness Ambrose points to the mildness of Christ.

They by their course frighten sinners away from a penitent return. What confidence will one have in a physician who, instead of compassion for his patient, exercises only contempt and harshness toward him? "I would have the guilty," says Ambrose, "hope for the pardon of his sin, yet he should beg it with tears; he should beg it with sighs, he should beg it with the lamentation of all the people. I would have him pray for absolution, and when he is twice or thrice delayed as to his re-admission into the communion of the Church, let

him believe that his delay proceeds from the want of importunity in his prayers; let him redouble his weeping, let him render himself more worthy of pity, and then let him return, throw himself at the feet of the faithful, embrace them, kiss them, bathe them with his tears, and forsake them not, that so our Lord may say of him, "His many sins are forgiven, because he loved much."

In the second book reference is made to Heb. vi, 6, and to the objections of the Novatians founded upon the passage, it is replied that the teaching here is that there is no second baptism for those who have sinned, but their hope for pardon must rest alone in penance. The only sin that can not be forgiven is the sin against the Holy Ghost, which Ambrose makes to consist in heresy and schism, and persisting impenitence. Even Judas would not have been rejected, if instead of declaring his sin to the Jews, he had confessed it to Christ. The faithful are then exhorted to penitence, and the conditions and methods of true penance are pointed out. As to money payments it is said (*Book II, chap. ix*): "God does not seek your money, but your faith. I will not deny that your sin may be diminished by benefactions to the poor, but it is when faith commends the giving. For what can the distribution of your goods avail without the grace of charity?"

LETTERS.

Ninety-one letters of Ambrose are preserved, many of them devoted to such matters of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline as make them of lasting interest. No better specimen could be chosen than the letter to the Emperor Theodosius, after the massacre at Thessalonica.

If not quite so incisive as the speech which Theodoret puts into Ambrose's mouth when he turned Theodosius away from the door of the

church, it must yet have been wholesome reading for the emperor of the Roman world.

To the August Emperor Theodosius, Ambrose the Bishop.

"... If the priest shall not speak to the erring, he who has sinned shall die in his sin, and the priest shall be a party to his crime, because he has not admonished him. Hear, then, august emperor. That thou hast a great zeal for the faith, I may not deny, nor dispute thy fear of God. But thine is an impetuous nature which if one will soothe thou dost quickly incline to pity ; if one rouse it, thou art so enkindled that thou canst scarcely restrain it. If there is no one to soothe, would that there might be none to arouse ! I would freely commit it to thee ; return to thine own self, and by thy zeal for piety thou wilt overcome this natural impetuosity. . . . A deed has been done in Thessalonica such as the memory of man does not recall, which I have not been able to prevent ; which, however, I have before declared atrocious, whenever such things were in question, and which thou thyself, too late for it to be revoked, dost deem grave. This act I am not to extenuate. . . . Should it shame thee, O Emperor, to do what David did, the prophet-king, the founder of the family of Christ according to the flesh ?

"It was told him that a rich man who had great flocks, on account of the visit of a stranger, seized and killed the one lamb of a poor man ; and he, knowing that he himself was meant, for he had so done, cried, 'I have sinned against the Lord.' Bear it not impatiently, therefore, O Emperor, if I say to thee what was said to King David by the prophet, 'Thou hast done this.' For, if thou shalt hearken diligently and shalt say, 'I have sinned against the Lord,' if thou shalt utter the royal prophecy, 'O come let us worship and bow down ; let us lament before the Lord our Maker,' it shall

be said to thee also : ' Because thou art penitent, the Lord hath put away thy sin ; thou shalt not die.' I have written these things not that I might humble thee, but that the example of kings might provoke thee to remove this sin from thy kingdom and in humility to lift up thy soul unto God.

"Thou art a man, and temptation hath befallen thee ; overcome it. Sin is not put away except by tears and penitence. Neither angel nor archangel, nor even the Lord himself, who alone can say, ' I am with you,' may forgive those who are not penitent. I counsel, I implore, I exhort, I admonish you. For I am afflicted that thou, who hast been a model of unusual piety, who hast held the highest distinction for clemency, who hast not allowed some who were guilty to be put in peril, dost not grieve that so many innocent ones have perished. Although thou hadst distinguished thyself in battles, although in other things also thou wast worthy of praise, yet the crown of thy works was always thy piety. The devil envied thee that which most distinguished thee. Conquer thou him, while thou art yet able. . . . I have no reason for contumacy against thee, but I am afraid. I should fear to offer the sacrifice, should you desire to be present.

"What may not be on account of the blood of one who is innocent, shall it be after the death of many ? I can not think so. . . . But thanks be to the Lord who is willing to chastise his servants, lest he may lose them. This happens to me in common with the prophets : let it happen to you in common with the saints."

WORKS UPON THE SCRIPTURES.

Ambrose's scriptural writings are numerous, treating chiefly of the Old Testament. There is a work upon the "Six Days of Creation," in which he borrowed largely from Basil. Instead of formal

commentaries, most of these Old Testament works are treatises upon various topics in which the remarks are founded upon particular portions of Scripture. The topics so discussed are "Paradise," "Cain and Abel," "Life of Abraham," "Noah and the Ark," "Isaac and the Soul" (a book founded upon the Canticles, and explaining the union of the soul with the Word), "Jacob and the Happy Life," the "Life of Joseph," the "Benediction of the Patriarchs," an "Apology for David," "Of Elias and Fasting," "Naboth and the Poor," "The Intercessions of Job and David," "Of Forsaking the World," and "Of the Advantages of Death." This last was based in part upon the second book of Esdras, which was regarded by Ambrose as canonical. Discoursing of the state of departed souls, the author supposes that until the judgment-day they will be in places where they expect eternal glory or damnation, though they enjoy meantime some happiness or misery. Seven degrees of blessedness are spoken of, the highest of which is joy in the assurance of seeing God face to face.

We have also a treatise upon Tobit, and there are extant expositions of the Psalms, among them a collection of sermons, one to each Hebrew letter on Psalm cxix.

The only New Testament commentary is upon the Gospel of Luke. In this he devotes himself for the most part to the letter and history of the text.

HYMNS.

No small part of Ambrose's episcopal power was due to his use of Christian song as an element of worship. The most illustrious convert which the church at Milan ever received, reverting in his "Confessions" to the holy influences which there won upon him, speaks thus: "How did I weep, O Lord! through thy hymns and canticles, touched to

the quick by the voices of thy sweet attuned Church ! The voices sank into my ears, and the truths distilled into my heart, whence the affections of my devotions overflowed ; tears ran down, and I rejoiced in them." Reading these lines we are half disposed to quarrel with an unscrupulously exact scholarship which no longer allows to us one of the most pleasing legends of the Church. For tradition says that Ambrose and his music-moved catechumen, on the occasion of Augustine's reception into the Church, broke out spontaneously in the antiphonal chanting of the grand "*Te Deum Laudamus*," each composing and responding to the other without any preconcerted plan. But, while the story must be given up, it remains true that Ambrose was the author of a number of extant hymns, and that he was so well known in connection with the hymns of the Church, that in the following centuries they came to speak of a hymn as an Ambrosian. Formerly a large number of hymns found in Latin breviaries were assigned to him, but critical studies now reduce the number extant to twelve, or even seven. Of these, critics unite in giving the foremost place to the

Veni Redemptor Gentium.

Of the various renderings of this hymn, we choose the following, by Dr. Ray Palmer :

O thou Redeemer of our race !
Come show the Virgin's Son to earth ;
Let every age admire the grace ;
Worthy a God thy human birth !

'Twas by no mortal will or aid,
But by the Holy Spirit's might,
That flesh the Word of God was made,
A babe yet waiting for the light.

Spotless remains the Virgin's name,
 Although the Holy Child she bears;
 And virtue's banners round her flame,
 While God a temple so prepares.

As if from honor's royal hall,
 Comes forth at length the Mighty One,
 Whom Son of God and man they call,
 Eager his destined course to run.

Forth from the Father's bosom sent,
 To him returned he claimed his own;
 Down to the realms of death he went,
 Then rose to share the eternal throne.

An equal at the Father's side,
 Thou wear'st the trophy of thy flesh;
 In thee our nature shall abide,
 In strength complete, in beauty fresh.

With light divine thy manger streams,
 That kindles darkness into day;
 Dimmed by no night, henceforth its beams
 Shine through all time with changeless ray.

List of Works.

DOGMATIC AND MORAL: "Three Books of Offices"; "Of Mysteries"; "Three Books of the Holy Spirit"; "On the Incarnation"; "Five Books concerning the Faith"; "Two Books on Penitence"; "Three Books of Virgins"; "An Exhortation to Virginité, originally a Sermon preached at Bologna"; "On Virginité," a work partly apologetic, Ambrose's zeal for the celibate life having been criticised; "Instructions for a Virgin," devoting much space to maintaining the perpetual virginity of Mary; "A Treatise of Widows." LETTERS: Ninety-one now extant. EXEGETICAL WORKS: The titles are all given in the text. FUNERAL DISCOURSES: Orations commemorating Valentinian and Theodosius; and two books upon the "Decease of Satyrus," his brother. HYMNS: Twelve now extant.

JEROME,

THE author of the Vulgate. Eusebius Hieronymus Sophronius, commonly known as Jerome, was born at Strido, not far from Aquileia, about A. D. 345, and was probably a Dalmatian by race. His family was Christian and orthodox, and of such wealth and position as secured to Jerome liberal study and refined associations. His early life was a period of great agitation in the religious world. The Emperor Constantius long sought to force the Church into Arianism, and through the action of the Council of Rimini, as Jerome afterward said, "the whole world groaned and was astonished to find itself Arian." Julian the Apostate next tried to revive the worship of the ancient gods. Valentinian, though himself an orthodox believer, yet ruled an empire sharply divided between the Arian and Nicene confessions. In the midst of such contentions, a mind like Jerome's must even in boyhood have been interested in religious thought. He was not, however, baptized, nor actively devoted to the religious life until he reached manhood. He had been sent to Rome to complete his education, and there was trained in classics and philosophy.

Upon the completion of his studies at Rome he traveled and studied for some time in Gaul, when, at Treves, he first came to think seriously upon divine things. Returning to Strido and Aquileia, he begins literary work, having gathered for that purpose a valuable library; but, soon conceiving the idea of retirement from the world, he sets out, in

company with several of his friends for the East. After various travels, Jerome finds himself in solitude in the deserts of Syria, having with him, however, his beloved library. Here he spends four years in pious exercises and in study. A noteworthy incident of this period was his remarkable vision, in which he was scourged before the throne of divine judgment, for being a Ciceronian rather than a Christian. Sickness at length compels his return to civilization, and we find him in turn at Antioch, where he was ordained a priest, though on condition that he should not perform the priestly function ; at Bethlehem ; at Constantinople, where he met with Gregory Nazianzen, whom he calls his master ; and then at Rome. Here he was made secretary to Pope Damasus, and at his request undertook his first work of translating and revising the Scriptures. Besides these literary labors he was active in promoting the ascetic life and the study of the Scriptures among the higher classes of society, particularly among the Roman ladies of most distinguished rank.

This effort aroused much opposition to him, not only from friends of his devotees, but from the Roman clergy, whose follies and vices he denounced with scathing ridicule. Upon the death of Damasus, whose successor he did not become, Jerome set out for the East, and was followed by Paula, a noble and wealthy Roman lady, and her daughter Eustochium, who proposed founding in the East a monastic establishment for themselves and the friends who accompanied them. After making the tour of Palestine, and visiting Egypt, where Jerome met with Didymus, the three friends came to Bethlehem, and

there established four monasteries, three for women and one for men. Here was performed Jerome's great work upon the Scriptures, of which we shall speak hereafter.

This retreat became an establishment of great renown, to which visitors gathered from all parts of the world, and whither, in the troublous times attending the fall of Rome, refugees flocked in great numbers and were received with bountiful hospitality. Unhappily, the peace of the retreat was much disturbed by Jerome's propensity to quarrels. The part which he took in the bitter controversies over Origen, and his attacks upon the supporters of Pelagius, so embroiled him with his old friends, and especially with his neighbors at Jerusalem, that the monastery at Bethlehem was once attacked and partially destroyed by an armed mob. These controversies, which somehow extended to nearly every one with whom he had to do, lasted to the closing years of Jerome's life, which ended, after a lingering illness, on September 30, 420.

DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS.

In this celebrated treatise, undertaken at the request of Dexter, after the manner of the Greek and Latin biographical writers, Jerome announces his purpose to speak briefly of all who have written anything concerning the sacred Scriptures, from the death of Christ to the fourteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Theodore. He acknowledges his indebtedness to Eusebius, and forestalls the criticism of any contemporary writers whom he may overlook, by saying that, if they distinguish themselves by their writings, his omissions will be of no consequence.

Let Celsus, Porphyry, Julian, and such rabid opponents of Christ, with their followers, who imagine that the Church has had no philosophers and orators and *savants*, learn what and how great men have founded, built, and advanced it. Let them cease to accuse our faith of a rustic simplicity, and recognize rather their own ignorance.

The number of writers named is one hundred and thirty-five, all briefly treated. Even with our restricted limits, this list may well claim transcription :

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| 1. Simon Peter. | 22. Hegesippus the historian. |
| 2. James, the brother of the Lord. | 23. Justin, philosopher and martyr. |
| 3. Matthew, also called Levi. | 24. Melito of Sardis. |
| 4. Jude, the brother of James. | 25. Theophilus of Antioch. |
| 5. Paul, also called Saul. | 26. Apollinaris of Hierapolis. |
| 6. Barnabas, also called Joseph. | 27. Dionysius of Corinth. |
| 7. Luke the Evangelist. | 28. Pinytus the Cretan. |
| 8. Mark the Evangelist. | 29. Tatian the heretic. |
| 9. John the Apostle. | 30. Philip of Crete, |
| 10. Hermas, author of "The Shepherd." | 31. Musanus. |
| 11. Philo Judæus. | 32. Modestus. |
| 12. Senaca * the Stoic philosopher. | 33. Bardesanes the heresiarch. |
| 13. Josephus the historian. | 34. Victor of Rome. |
| 14. Justus of Tiberias. | 35. Irenæus of Lyons. |
| 15. Clement of Rome (Philip iv, 3). | 36. Pantænus the philosopher. |
| 16. Ignatius of Antioch. | 37. Rhodon, a disciple of Tatian. |
| 17. Polycarp of Smyrna. Ordained by John the Apostle bishop of Smyrna. | 38. Clement of Alexandria. |
| 18. Papias of Hierapolis. | 39. Miltiades. |
| 19. Quadratus of Athens. | 40. Apollonius. |
| 20. Aristides the Athenian Apologist. | 41. Serapion of Antioch. |
| 21. Agrippa Castor. | 42. Apollonius, a Roman senator. |
| | 43. Theophilus of Cæsarea. |
| | 44. Bacchylus of Corinth. |
| | 45. Polycrates of Ephesus. |
| | 46. Heraclitus. |
| | 47. Maximus. |

* Named by Jerome on account of certain letters said to have passed between Seneca and St. Paul, in which the former expressed the wish that he were to his own people what Paul was to the Christians.

48. Candidus.
49. Appion.
50. Sextus.
51. Arabianus.
52. Judas.
53. Tertullian.
54. Origen.
55. Ammonius.
56. Ambraius.
57. Trypho.
58. Minucius Felix.
59. Gaius.
60. Beryllus of Bostra.
61. Hippolytus.
62. Alexander of Jerusalem.
63. Julius Africanus.
64. Geminus, a presbyter of Antioch.
65. Theodore or Gregory (Thaumaturgus).
66. Cornelius of Rome.
67. Cyprian.
68. Pontius, Cyprian's biographer.
69. Dionysius of Alexandria.
70. Novatian the heretic.
71. Malchion, a presbyter of Antioch.
72. Archelaus, opponent of Manichæus.
73. Anatolius of Laodicea.
74. Victor of Petavia.
75. Pamphilus.
76. Pierius, a presbyter of Alexandria.
77. Lucian, presbyter of Antioch.
78. Phileas of Thmuis.
79. Arnobius the rhetorician.
80. Firmianus, or Lactantius.
81. Eusebius of Cæsarea.
82. Rheticius.
83. Methodius of Tyre.
84. Juvencus, a Spanish presbyter.
85. Eustathius of Antioch.
86. Marcellus of Ancyra.
87. Athanasius.
88. Anthony the monk.
89. Basil of Ancyra.
90. Theodore of Heraclea.
91. Eusebius of Emisa.
92. Tryphyllus, a Cypriot bishop.
93. Donatus the heretic.
94. Asterius, an Arian philosopher.
95. Lucifer of Caralis.
96. Eusebius of Vercellæ.
97. Fortunatianus of Aquileia.
98. Acacius of Cæsarea.
99. Serapion of Thmuis.
100. Hilary of Poitiers.
101. Victor, a rhetorician.
102. Titus of Bostra.
103. Damasus of Rome.
104. Apollinaris of Laodicea.
105. Gregory of Boetica.
106. Pacianus of Barcelona.
107. Photinus the heretic.
108. Phœbadius of Agen.
109. Didymus the Blind.
110. Optatus of Milevis.
111. Aquilius Severus.
112. Cyril of Jerusalem.
113. Euzoſus of Cæsarea.
114. Epiphanius of Salamis.
115. Ephraem the Syrian.
116. Basil of Cæsarea Cap.
117. Gregory Nazianzen.
118. Lucius, an Arian bishop.
119. Diodorus of Tarsus.
120. Eunomius the heretic.
121. Priscillian of Avila.
122. Latronianus, a Priscillianist.
123. Tiberianus, a Priscillianist.
124. Ambrose of Milan.
125. Evagrius of Antioch.
126. Ambrose, an Alexandrian.
127. Maximus of Constantinople.
128. Gregory Nyssa.

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| <p>129. John, a presbyter of Antioch, afterward bishop of Constantinople, known as Chrysostom.</p> <p>130. Gelasius of Cæsarea.</p> <p>131. Theotimus, a Scythian bishop.</p> | <p>132. Dexter, the son of Pacian.</p> <p>133. Amphilocheius of Iconium.</p> <p>134. Sophronius, translator of Jerome.</p> <p>135. Jerome,</p> |
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THE VULGATE.

It is the judgment of a modern critical scholar that during fifteen hundred years only one man appeared who possessed the requisite qualification for producing an original version of the Scriptures for the use of the Latin churches. That man was Jerome, to whom greater praise could not be given than to say that, in point of learning, he was the Latin Origen. We have already noticed that the Italian and Gallic churches, being of Greek origin, retained the use of the Greek language to a comparatively late period. Hence it was that the first Latin revision of the Scriptures was made in North Africa, where Christianity, introduced late, was Latin from the beginning. This "Old Latin" version was literal and rude; and, though scrupulously retained in Africa, came to be regarded in Italy as provincial and inadequate. Accordingly, in the fourth century a new version was made, known as the "Itala." But, while this recension seems to have had an ecclesiastical origin, the Scripture text had fallen into a very corrupt condition. Indeed, there were said to have been nearly as many versions as individual copies of the Scriptures. This led Pope Damasus, while Jerome was his secretary (about 383), to desire him to prepare a corrected version of the New Testament. He did this, making use of the Old Latin as a basis, and changing it only to remove interpolations and to correct actual errors. This Hieronymian version, though meeting at first with much opposition, came in time to be generally re-

ceived, and was the beginning of the "Latin Vulgate," which is the parent of nearly all modern translations.

But this work at Rome was only the minor part of Jerome's labors. Damasus had also asked him to prepare a corrected version of the Psalms, which he had done, producing what is known as the "Roman Psalter." This seems to have been a hasty work, and in a few years Jerome prepared with more care what is known as the "Gallican Psalter," now in general use in the Roman Church.

From this beginning he went on to prepare a version of the entire Old Testament, translating it from the text of the Septuagint and other Greek versions, so as to represent as nearly as possible the sense of the Hebrew. This version, however, did not satisfy Jerome. A Hebrew scholar himself, and having near him—he was now at Bethlehem—learned rabbis, and Hebrew texts in use in the synagogues, he undertook a new translation of the Old Testament directly from the Hebrew. Begun about A. D. 390, this work was completed A. D. 404. With the exception of the Psalter, which never displaced the "Gallican" version already made by Jerome, this translation at last took its place as the standard Bible of the Latin churches. Thus was completed a book which for a thousand years stood alone as the exponent of God's will to Western Europe, and then gave way, so far as it has yet yielded, not to other texts, but to vernacular renderings of itself. As the author of this work, the modern world, which finds in his life so little that is lovable and so much that is positively repelling, yet thinks of Jerome with abundant gratitude, and will never cease to name him among the literary benefactors of the race. In its simplicity and purity of style, the Vulgate was in marked contrast with the works of most contemporary Latin writers, showing its author to have

been as well trained in classic studies as he was profoundly learned in biblical lore.

SCRIPTURE COMMENTARIES.

Speaking generally of Jerome's commentaries, Dupin says : " First of all, he sets down the ancient vulgar translation, and with it joins commonly his new translation ; secondly, he inquires after the sense of the Hebrew text exactly, and compares it with the several Greek versions. He cites the other places of Scripture which have any relation to that which he is expounding. In making these observations he clears the literal sense of the Scripture, and discovers the prophecies by showing their accomplishment. And in the last place he adds mystical explanations and short allegories, which, most commonly, are only etymologies and turns of wit about words." These we see are the methods of a scholar. We can imagine the precise language used to describe a critical commentary issued in the present decade upon the new English version. Yet, with all their learning, the comments were often very clear and simple, and of a deep spiritual meaning that appealed profoundly to the heart. The portions of Scripture treated by Jerome were, in the Old Testament, Isaiah, upon which he wrote eighteen books ; Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, to which he devoted respectively six books, fourteen books, and one book ; Ecclesiastes ; and the twelve minor prophets.

Upon the New Testament he made a " Harmony of the Four Gospels," four books of notes upon Matthew, and commentaries upon the Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Titus, and Philemon.

Of considerable portions of these writings, however, Jerome might better have been called the editor than the author, for he cites opinions from all sources, often giving those of a contrary bearing upon the same subject, without taking the trouble

to explain or reconcile them. This, he says, should not be urged against him, as he does not defend the erroneous opinions, and in not combating them he simply spares the reputations of the authors.

LETTERS.

No small part of Jerome's literary work is in the form of letters, many of which are virtual treatises upon topics of vital interest to the Church or the world in his day. The number of these letters is about one hundred and fifty, fifty of them having reference to the study of the Scriptures, and the rest taking so wide a range that they enable us not only to construct an autobiography of the author, but also to obtain vivid pictures of the ecclesiastical and social life, with occasional glimpses at the political life of the day.

Our extracts from this correspondence will have reference to the two prominent elements of the writer's life-work : (1), his critical study of the Scriptures, and (2) his efforts to promote the monastic and ascetic life in the West. The distinctively controversial letters are treated under the title of "Controversial Works."

EXTRACTS.

To Paulinus : Upon the Study of the Scriptures.

Jerome alludes to the distinguished men of antiquity, who made toilsome journeys to consult the scholars of other lands, and then speaks of the zeal of St. Paul in acquainting himself with the law of God. This was Paul's title to be called a chosen vessel of the Lord. St. John speaks in the Apocalypse of a book sealed with seven seals. The Scriptures are such a book to many to-day who boast of being wise. I would have you realize that you have need of a master for the study of the holy Scrip-

tures, and that you ought not to set out in so difficult a way without a guide. All the higher arts and the simple mechanical professions have masters, methods, and long preliminary labors. Only Scripture study is without these. Wise and ignorant, the whole world engages in them. People speak of them without having learned. Even women set themselves up as doctors. The farce of one's teaching what he does not know, being even ignorant of his ignorance!

Is everything in Genesis, then, so easily understood?—a book which embraces the history of the creation of the world, of the beginning of human life, of the division of the earth among its first inhabitants, of the confusion of tongues, of the dispersion of the nations, of the going down of the Hebrews into Egypt.

Are there no difficulties in the account, in the book of Exodus, of the twelve plagues of Egypt, and of the decalogue, with its mystical and divine precepts? Are there none in Leviticus, in which the various sacrifices, the vestments of the high-priest, and the whole Levitical order, in all their particulars, tell of celestial sacrifice? Does not Numbers contain mysteries as to the numbering of the people, the prophecies of Balaam, and the two-and-forty encampments in the desert? Deuteronomy, also, the second law, and a prefiguring of the evangelical law, does it not rehearse what precedes, so that all seems to be new? Job, that monument of patience, what mysteries does not his speech involve? The beginning and the end of this book are in prose, and the rest is in verse. The author observes with precision all the laws of dialectics as to method of exposition, development, proof, and conclusion. Every word is full of meaning. To speak of nothing else, he prophesies of the resurrection of the body with a clearness and precision

which no one else has shown. "I know," he says, "that my Redeemer liveth," etc.—*Job* xix, 25, 26.

I come to Jesus, the son of Nun, who, a type of the Lord as well in his acts as in his name, crossed the Jordan, subdued the kingdom of the enemy, divided the land among the conquerors, and by the various cities, villages, mountains, rivers, torrents, and frontiers, indicated the spiritual realms of the Church and the heavenly Jerusalem. The book of Judges contains as many figures as princes of the people. Ruth, the Moabitess, fulfills that prophecy of Isaiah: "Send, O Lord, the lamb to the ruler of the land, from the rocks of the desert, unto the mount of the daughter of Zion." Samuel, in the death of Eli and the slaying of Saul, shows the abolition of the old law. Again, in Zadoc and David, he testifies to the establishment of a new priesthood and a new empire.

The third and the fourth books of Kings contain the history of the kings of Judah and Israel, from Solomon to Jeconiah, and from Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, to Hosea, who was carried captive to Babylon. Regarded only as history, all is written very simply; but, if we penetrate the hidden meaning, we shall find a prophetic account of the faithful, and of the wars of the heretics against the Church in these later days.

The twelve minor prophets, contained in one small volume, prefigure many other things than their accounts relate. [A summary is given of each of the twelve.]

But who can rightly understand or explain Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, the first of which seems to me to be not a prophecy, but a gospel? The second sees an almond rod, a seething pot with its face to the north, a leopard despoiled of its colors; and with varied measure he binds a fourfold alphabet [alluding to Lamentations]. The

third is obscure in its beginning and ending, so that the Hebrews did not permit this part nor the beginning of the book of Genesis to be read by any one under thirty years of age. The fourth and last among the four prophets, mindful of times and of unusual interests, speaks with a clear utterance of the stone cut out of the mountain without hands and overthrowing the kingdoms of the earth.

David, our Simonides, our Pindar and Alcæus, our Horace, our Catullus and Severus, praises Christ upon the lyre, and celebrates the resurrection from the dead on the psaltery of ten strings.

Solomon, pacific, beloved of the Lord, teaches conduct to rulers, unfolds the secrets of nature, unites the Church with Jesus Christ, and celebrates their alliance in a sweet epithalamium.

Esther, a type of the Church, delivers her people from peril, and the slain Haman, which means iniquity; and establishes a day of festivity for posterity.

The book of Chronicles, which is an epitome of the Old Testament, is of such importance that one deceives himself who thinks to know the Scripture without it. For even the names and the connections of the words serve to explain matters of history omitted in the book of Kings, and also to expound innumerable questions of the Gospels.

Ezra and Nehemiah, that is, the Helper and the Consoler from the Lord, make but one volume. They build the temple and restore the walls of the city. The company of the people returning into their own country, and the description of the priests and Levites and the proselytes, and the works upon the walls and towers assigned to the several families, all bear one meaning upon the surface, and retain another at the heart.

You see how my love for our divine Scriptures has already carried me beyond the limits of a letter, yet, without completing what I purposed, I have

only made apparent what we should desire, in order that we also may say, "My soul breaketh for the longing that it hath unto thy judgments at all times." Besides, that saying of Socrates is fulfilled in us, "This much I know, that I know nothing."

I will speak to you summarily of the New Testament. Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, are the chariot of the Lord, and the true cherubim, having a fullness of knowledge. "All their body is full of eyes," etc. (*Ezek.* i, 18 ff.).

Paul the Apostle wrote to seven churches (for many do not deem the Epistle to the Hebrews his), instructed Timothy and Titus, and entreated Philemon in behalf of a fugitive servant. But I deem it better to be silent than to write cursorily concerning him.

The Acts of the Apostles seem to contain only a simple history of the infancy of the growing Church; but, if we reflect that Luke was a physician, whose praise is in the gospel, we shall find in all his words a medicine for the languishing soul.

The Apostles James, Peter, John, and Jude wrote seven letters, which contain in a few words profound mysteries, at once short and long—short in the number of their words, long as to sense; so that it is rare that one is not blind in their reading.

The Apocalypse has as many mysteries as words. I have spoken sufficiently of it. All praise comes short. Every word in it is susceptible of various interpretations.

Tell me, dear brother, does it not seem to you that to consecrate one's life to these august meditations, to devote one's self wholly to them without wishing to know or to seek anything else in the world, is to taste in advance the delights of heaven?

Do not be offended by the simplicity and baseness of the language of the holy Scriptures, which is due either to the ignorance of the interpreter or to

their purpose of instructing more easily the rustic mind, that both the simple and the learned may hear in it the same sentiments. I am not so vain and conceited as to flatter myself that I can pluck the fruit of a tree whose roots are fixed in heaven, yet I confess to a love for these things. I offer myself not as your teacher, but as a companion of your studies.

To Heliodorus, on returning to the Monastic Life.

Thou dost mistake, brother, if thou thinkest a Christian to be ever without persecution. He is then most opposed when he does not know of the attack. Our adversary goes about as a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour, and thinkest thou to have peace? Hoping to inherit things of this world, thou canst not be co-heir with Jesus Christ. Think what *monk*, thine own name, means. What hast thou, a solitary, to do with the multitude? But thou wilt say, perhaps, Are not any who dwell in cities Christians? Yet thou art not like others, thou who hast heard the Lord saying, "If thou wilt be perfect, sell that thou hast and give to the poor, . . . and come, follow me." Be it far from me to speak aught against those who, succeeding to the apostles' rank, consecrate the body of Christ with their sacred mouths, through whom we also are Christians; who, holding the keys of the kingdom of heaven, judge, so to speak, before the day of judgment; who preserve the purity of the bride of the Lord. But it is not with members as with clergymen. The clergy feed the flocks. I am fed. They live of the altar; but, as the axe is laid at the root of an unfruitful tree, so is it to me if I bring not my gift to the altar. . . . If the pious blandishments of the brethren solicit thee to the [priestly] order, I shall rejoice, but I shall fear a fall. Not all bishops are bishops. Behold Peter, but think also upon Judas. The ec-

clesiastical dignity will not make one a Christian. Cornelius, the centurion, as yet a Gentile, was endued with the gift of the Holy Spirit. If a monk fall, the priest may pray for him, but who shall pray at the fall of a priest? O wilderness, radiant with the flowers of Jesus Christ! O solitude, where are found the stones for the building of the apocalyptic city of the Great King! O desert, delighting in intimacy with God! What doest thou in the world, brother, who art not of the world? How long wilt thou dwell under the shade of roofs? How long shall the prison of smoking cities confine thee? Believe me, I am beholding I know not what new light. I am free, the burden of the body cast off, to soar to the pure brightness of the ether. Dost thou fear poverty? Christ called the poor blessed. Art thou afraid of toil? No athlete is crowned without weariness. Dost thou think of thy food? The faithful fear not hunger. Dost thou fear to rest thy limbs, worn with fasting, upon the bare earth? The Lord rests with thee. . . . Come, oh come, that day in which the corrupt and mortal shall put on incorruption and immortality! Then blessed shall be that servant whom the Lord shall find watching. Then thou, a rustic and a pauper, shalt rejoice and say, Behold my crucified! behold as judge him who, wrapped in rags, wailed in a manger!

To Eustochium, on the Celibate Life.

"Hearken, O daughter, and consider and incline thine ear; forget also thine own people, and thy father's house." Thus God speaks to the soul whom he calls, like Abraham, to leave his country and kindred, and separate himself from the Chaldeans, that is to say, from demons, to establish himself in the land of the living.

Beginning thus, Jerome goes on to speak of the weakness of the flesh and the need of strife

against the flesh and the devil. Do not give evil thoughts time to fortify themselves in your mind; suppress all the seeds of Babylon, which bring only confusion and disorder; crush the monster in his cradle; cut at the root the strange stalk which mingles with the good grain; bruise it against the rock Christ Jesus. Oh, how often, since I fixed my abode in this desert, have I in imagination felt myself transported to the heart of Rome and to its delights! Plunged as I was in an abyss of misfortune, I would cast myself on the floor of my solitary cell: a rude garment covered my frightful body; my skin, blackened and dried, looked like that of men burned by the rays of the Ethiopian sun, and gave me the livid appearance of a corpse. The day would pass in tears and groans, and, if perchance sleep oppressed me, unwilling, I had scarce strength to keep my bones from falling upon the bare earth. I say nothing to you of my food, since even sick monks use cold water, and anything cooked is a luxury. I, then, a companion of wild beasts and scorpions, who from fear of hell had condemned myself to such a dungeon, was often in the midst of a chorus of maidens. My lips were pallid from fasting, and my mind raged with desire in a frigid body, and, in a flesh to appearance already dead, surged the riotings of lust. Then, destitute of all aid, I threw myself at the feet of Jesus. I was bathed in tears, which I dried with my hairs, and, eating nothing for seven days, I subjugated the unwilling flesh. I do not blush to confess the misery of my unhappiness, but I rather deplore that I am not as I was then. I remember often passing whole nights crying and smiting my breast, until the Lord, dissipating the tempest, restored my tranquillity. Meanwhile, I approached my very cell with fright, as if it knew my thoughts; and harsh and indignant I penetrated the deserts

alone. Wherever I found deep hollows in the valleys, or rugged mountains, or broken rocks, there was my place of prayer, there the penitentiary for my most miserable flesh ; and, as the Lord himself is my witness, after many tears, after my eyes had been fixed upon the heavens, I sometimes seemed to myself to be among the choirs of the angels, and rejoicing with delight, I cried out, "Because of the odor of these ointments we run after thee." If such are the trials of one whose flesh is consumed by the rigors of penitence, says Jerome, what will not be those of a young person thrown in the midst of the world and its pleasures ? He therefore goes on to warn Eustochium, first of all, against intemperance. She is not to mingle with people of the world, and is rarely to be seen in public. She is to rise in the night to pray, to read and learn much, to fast habitually, and to avoid all society. He disclaims any contempt for marriage, which is blessed of God, preferring, as he does, the unmarried state.

Lend your ear, he adds, to no evil words. For often such as are unfitting will be spoken in your presence, to try the temper of your mind. If, a virgin, you willingly hear what is said, if you turn it into a laugh, whatever you may say others will praise ; whatever you disclaim, they will disclaim. The spouse of Christ should be as the ark of the covenant, in which was kept the law of the Lord, covered with gold without and within. As in it there was nothing except the tables of the law, so in thee should there be no extrinsic thought. I urge upon you not to glory in your riches or your birth, nor to think yourself superior to others. Knowing your modesty, I will not speak of pride, which has no place in your heart. My only fear is, that your very contempt for the vanity of this world may inspire in you another vanity : that you may have a secret complacency in the attention attracted by

your humility, that you may deem yourself obliged, in the presence of your brothers and sisters, to take the lowest place and speak in a feeble and languishing tone, to prove how fasting has wasted you. Warning Eustochium against the songs of the poets, Jerome relates the following incident in his own experience : When some years ago I left home, father, mother, sister, kindred, and, what was most difficult, the sharing of a bountiful table, with the purpose of enrolling myself in the heavenly ranks, and going to Jerusalem to do service, I was not able to leave the books which I had collected at Rome with great care and labor. So eager was I to read Cicero, that I was fasting. After frequent vigils, after tears, which the memory of my former faults drew from the depths of my heart, Plautus fell into my hand ; and when, returning to myself, I began to read the prophets, the uncultured speech offended me, and, because I did not see the light of the sun with blind eyes, I thought it to be the fault not of the eyes but of the sun. While thus the old serpent deluded me, I had toward mid-Lent a fever which, penetrating my body, weakened by continual austerities, even to the marrow of my bones, and tormenting me day and night with an incredible violence, emaciated me to the point of having nothing else but bones. My feebleness made me think that I was to die. My funeral was prepared ; my body was cold ; the principle of life was made known only by the feeble beatings of the heart. Suddenly in spirit I was borne before a tribunal of justice, where was such dazzling light and pomp of circumstance that I, falling to the earth, dared not look up. Interrogated as to my profession, I replied that I was a Christian. "Thou liest," said he who presided, "thou art a Ciceronian, not a Christian, for where thy treasure is there thy heart is also." Instantly I was dumb, and amid the

blows—for he commanded me to be beaten—I suffered more from the fires of conscience, recalling that verse, “Who shall give thee thanks in hell?” Yet I began to cry out, and to ejaculate, “Have mercy upon me, O Lord, have mercy upon me!” This cry resounded among the blows. At length my pardon was asked on the ground of my youth, and it was promised, on my behalf, that I should no more read profane authors, on pain of torture. I myself ratified this, saying, “Lord, if ever I have in my possession secular books, if I read them I deny thee.” Dismissed with this oath, I returned to earth, my eyes bathed in tears, which flowed so abundantly that the attendants were astonished.

Nor was this simply a vision like those by which we are so often deluded. I call to witness that tribunal before which I lay, that stern judgment which affrighted me. I yet felt after my sleep the pain of the blows inflicted on me, and by which my shoulders were black and blue. From that moment I devoted myself to the study of the sacred books with more ardor than I had given before to the profane.

A sin to be guarded against by you is avarice. There are ladies whose books are enriched with precious stones, and written in characters of gold upon purple parchment, while Christ perishes in nakedness before their doors. There are those who give alms to the sound of a trumpet. The root of these evils is avarice.

Let us attach ourselves to Jesus Christ. The only worthy recompense which we can make him is to pay blood for blood; and, redeemed by the blood of Christ, we willingly die for our Redeemer.

CONTROVERSIAL WORKS.

If there was any ecclesiastical controversy of his day in which Jerome took no part, it must have been carried on with great secrecy. Usually he

smelled the battle afar off, and began pawing in the valley, and swallowing the ground with fierceness and rage. Happily for biblical science, his most active life, like Chrysostom's, was contemporary with the lull between the first two great controversies in the East, while the Pelagian discussion did not arise till he was an old man, and his chief work completed. Yet into this battle he went with all the vigor of the younger Augustine, and with a virulence to which that great father was a stranger. But if grand subjects for controversy did not offer, Jerome could fight over little subjects, and could be rancorous and abusive of his opponent over matters whose significance was contemptible. His bitterest words, too, seemed reserved for persons with whom he had been at one time close friends. Such were the coarse and even brutal terms in which he dealt with Rufinus, in the quarrel over the writings of Origen. Down to the year 395, Jerome had himself not only made use of Origen's Hexapla as his standard text, but he had also translated many of his homilies, made much use of his expositions of Scripture—in fact, appropriated them as his own—and given hearty expression to his admiration for that father. In that year, an attack upon Origen's writings, which had originated in Egypt, began to be felt in Palestine. John, bishop of Jerusalem, and Rufinus, equally with Jerome, had been admirers of the great Alexandrian. When the charge was made that the defenders of Origen must be heterodox, Jerome, jealous ever for his own orthodoxy, not only repudiated Origenistic leanings, but became exceedingly bitter against John and Rufinus, who would not thus clear themselves. Though for a time a truce was made between the parties, Jerome and Rufinus dramatically taking each other's hands over the Saviour's tomb, the quarrel soon became more fierce than ever. Rufinus, hav-

ing gone to Rome, translated Origen's book "On Principles," toning down some of the more palpable discrepancies from the received faith. In his preface to this work, he praised Jerome's learning and orthodoxy, and at the same time quoted his eulogy of Origen in a preface which he had once written to a translation of Origen's homilies on the Canticles. To meet this left-handed blow, Jerome prepared a literal translation of the "On Principles," and sent it to Rome with an indignant repudiation of Rufinus's compliments. This led to the preparation of an elaborate "Apology" by Rufinus, in which he attacked Jerome with great severity, and a counter "Apology against Rufinus," which in the last of its three books sinks to those personal quarrels and repetitions which in modern as well as in ancient times commonly prove the end of all disputes that continue long between learned men. As a part of this same controversy, Jerome wrote a letter, or treatise, "Against John of Jerusalem," in which, besides dealing with the Origenistic question, he enters largely into a personal quarrel between John and Epiphanius over the ordination by the latter of Jerome's brother Paulinianus within what John claimed to be the limits of his own episcopal jurisdiction.

Jerome also translated into Latin a letter of Epiphanius to John, in which the errors of Origen were summed up under eight several heads.

Another dispute, which came to be somewhat involved with the preceding, was that with Vigilantius. This man had visited Jerome, and on his return home to Barcelona had written a book in which he opposed the veneration of relics, and the worship of saints, as well as Jerome's undue regard for celibacy. In his reply, Jerome, after defending the use of holy relics, says of the retreat into a monastic life: "Yes, I do run away into the desert to escape

temptations. I do not dissemble my weakness. In flying, I escape resistance ; in remaining, I expose myself to the alternative of conquering or being conquered. Why give up a certainty for an uncertainty ? There is never any safety in sleeping near to a serpent." But to deal with the questions in hand was not enough. Jerome must indulge in personalities, in which he taunts Vigilantius with being the son of an innkeeper, and gives him this brotherly (?) advice : "As a Christian speaking with a Christian, I entreat you, brother, not to aspire to wisdom in this direction. You have been trained to other work. It does not belong to the same man to test the genuineness of coins and to weigh passages of Scripture, to have a discriminating taste for wines and to understand the prophets and apostles. Yet, if you will exercise your genius, do put yourself in the hands of the grammarians and rhetoricians, learn dialectics, become versed in the opinions of philosophers ; and, when you have learned all, then—make a beginning at holding your tongue. . . . However, I am foolish to be seeking masters for one who instructs everybody, and to plan for one who knows not how to speak, and is not able to be silent. The Greek proverb is worth heeding : 'The lyre plays in vain for the ass.'"

Years before this, all the antagonism of this combative saint had been called out by a treatise of Helvidius against the ascetic movement, of which Jerome was the champion at Rome. The key to the monastic theory being the doctrine of the perpetual virginity of Mary, Helvidius made this doctrine his point of attack. Jerome replied in his "Treatise against Helvidius." The argument that followed can be of little interest to-day. The following extract will expose sufficiently the tone of the work : "We do not deny that widows, we do not deny that married persons, may be found who are holy

women, but it is such as cease to be wives, who even under the bond of marriage imitate the chastity of virgins. That is what the apostle, Christ speaking in him, briefly testifies, 'The unmarried cares for the things of God, how she may please God, but the married cares for the things of the world, how she may please her husband.' Yet he lays no necessity or bond upon any one, but exhorts to what is honorable, wishing that all might be as he himself was. And although he has no commandment from the Lord as to virginity—because this is beyond men, and it were in a sense presuming to compel one against nature, and in any way to say, I wish you to be as the angels are ; wherefore, also, the virgin has the greater reward for despising what might be done without sin—still he declares in this connection : 'But I give you my judgment as one who has obtained mercy from the Lord, so that I am faithful. I suppose, therefore, that this is good on account of the present necessity, because it is good for man to be so !' Therefore does the forest grow, that afterward it may be cut down. For this purpose is the field sown, that it may be mown. The world now is full ; the land does not contain us. Daily do wars cut us down, diseases carry us off, shipwrecks drown us, and still we quarrel over boundaries. But you say some virgins are tavern-girls. I say more, some clerics are tavern-keepers, and some monks are without shame. But who will not understand at once that no tavern-girl can be a virgin, and no adulterer a monk, and no tavern-keeper a cleric ? Is it any reproach to virginity that pretenders to virginity are wicked ?"

To the same period, though of somewhat later date, belong two books of Jerome "Against Jovinian." This writer, who had himself been a monk, published a discourse in which he claimed that widows and married women were not to be less es-

teemed than virgins, if they had like virtues ; that a Christian baptized could not fall from righteousness ; that abstinence from meats was unprofitable ; and that the glorified saints are all equally happy.

In the first book of the treatise in reply, Jerome affirms that the apostles left their wives after their call to the apostleship, and that St. John always lived in celibacy ; he also severely condemns second marriages.

In the second book he contends that the holiest of men may fall from baptismal grace ; that, although God has made all things for man's use, it is dangerous for him to indulge his senses and to satisfy his greediness ; and that, as there are here on earth various degrees of vice and virtue, there are hereafter various degrees of pain and felicity.

To complete the list of controversies in which Jerome had more or less part, it may be said that, when he was first in the East, he became somewhat interested in, and wrote several letters to Pope Damasus upon, the long discussed and now subsiding differences over the hypostases ; that in a letter to Marcella he took up the cudgels against the Montanistic errors ; that he became involved in a dispute with Augustine over his (Jerome's) denial of any difference of opinion between Peter and Paul, and in his letters treated Augustine in a very cavalier-like manner ; that he interested himself in the war of Theophilus against Chrysostom enough to translate a book of Theophilus defaming the great preacher ; and that he wrote a dialogue between a "Luciferian and an Orthodox Christian," in which the tenets of the Luciferians were attacked.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

Several biographical works remain to be noticed : namely, "The Life of Paul," the first hermit, who, says Jerome, withdrew to the desert at the age of

fifteen, and lived there to the age of one hundred and thirteen years; and the lives of the monks Hilarion and Malchus. These books contain statements of fact which a writer who would gladly credit all that Jerome wrote dryly says, "are very hard to be believed." Less reverent readers pronounce them simply puerile, and, without wasting any wonder over the pretended events, only wonder that so much learning and so much credulity could be found in the same man.

The biography of the lady Paula, who went with Jerome to Bethlehem, and shared in the founding of the monasteries there, is contained in a letter addressed to her daughter Eustochium.

A letter from Jerome to Pamachius contains a little treatise on the best method of translating. This, it is claimed, is not to follow the words or terms, but the sense and purpose, of the author. Jerome's most important translation outside of the Scriptures was that of Didymus's work upon the Holy Ghost. He also translated Eusebius's "Chronicon," with additions, the "Rules" of the monk Pachomius, and certain homilies of Origen. A book on the "Names of Scriptural Countries and Cities," one on the "Proper Names of the Hebrews," and a book of "Questions on Genesis," complete the list of the more important works of this author.

List of Works,

SCRIPTURE VERSIONS: A Latin version of the Old Testament from the text of the LXX; another from the Hebrew text; two versions of the Psalms, known as the Roman and the Gallican "Psalters"; a version of the New Testament based upon the "Old Latin" version. COMMENTARIES: Upon Isaiah, eighteen books; Jeremiah, six books; Ezekiel, fourteen books; Daniel, Ecclesiastes, the Minor Prophets, each one book; Matthew, four books; Galatians, Ephesians, Titus, Philemon, and a Harmony of the Four Gospels. LETTERS: About fifty upon the

Scriptures ; a hundred others, including many treatises. **CONTROVERSIAL TREATISES** : Against Helvidius, Jovinian, Vigilantius, Rufinus. Dialogues against the Pelagians and against the Luciferians. **BIOGRAPHICAL** : The Ecclesiastical Writers ; and Lives of Paul, Hilarion, Malchus. **TRANSLATIONS** : Didymus's Holy Ghost ; Eusebius's Chronicon ; Pachomius's Rules ; various homilies of Origen. **BIBLICAL CRITICISM** : Prefaces to books in his versions ; On the Names of Scripture Places from Eusebius ; On the Hebrew Proper Names ; Questions on Genesis.

RUFINUS,

THE Latin translator. He is best known to us as the friend and the enemy of Jerome. Born in the territory of Aquileia, about the middle of the fourth century, he was baptized in a monastery in the year 370, or thereabout. Soon after he set out from Rome for the East, in company with Melania, a devout lady of noble rank, who founded a monastery at Jerusalem for men and women, herself presiding over the nuns, and Rufinus over the monks. They lived here twenty-five years, Rufinus forming or renewing an intimate friendship with Jerome. Upon the rise of the Origenistic controversy, Rufinus was a defender and Jerome an opponent of Origen. The quarrel between them became bitter, but the breach was for a time nominally healed. At last, however, Rufinus returned to Italy, and there, besides a translation of Pamphilus's "Apology for Origen," published a free translation of Origen's "De Principia," in the introduction to which he praised Jerome as one who had also admired and translated Origen. To be deliv-

ered from his friends, who were thus endangering his reputation for orthodoxy, Jerome immediately wrote his "Apology against Rufinus," to which Rufinus responded with two books of "Invectives." So violent was this controversy that it became a great scandal in the Church, leading Augustine to write to the contestants, imploring them, by what they owed to each other and to all the faithful, particularly to the feeble ones for whom Christ died, and before whom they were presenting such a terrible spectacle, not to publish against each other writings which they could never suppress, and which must be a lasting barrier to their reconciliation. So long as Pope Siricius lived, Rufinus, who had returned to Aquileia, retained his dignity as a presbyter of the Church, but, upon the accession of Anastasius, he was summoned to Rome to answer for his Origenistic and Pelagian sentiments. Not going to Rome, but simply answering by an "Apology," in which he professed himself thoroughly orthodox, he was condemned. Leaving Aquileia upon the invasion of the Visigoths, he died the next year (A. D. 410) in Sicily. Besides the books above mentioned, he was the author of translations of Josephus's "Antiquities," "Jewish War," and books "Against Appion"; the "Sentences" of Sixtus the Pythagorean, which he ascribed to Pope Sixtus II; the book of "Recognitions," ascribed to Clement; a hundred or more homilies of Origen, as well as his commentary on Romans, and his letter complaining of the corrupting of his works; Eusebius's "Ecclesiastical History," in nine books, to which Rufinus added two books of his own; the asceti-

cal "Rules" of St. Basil; the "Orations of St. Gregory Nazianzen," and the "Sentences of Evagrius Ponticus." All these translations are so free as perhaps to merit the name of paraphrases, while in Eusebius's "History" and Origen's "Principles" there are many important changes in the sense. Rufinus also wrote a discourse "On the Falsification of Origen's Works," "An Exposition of the Creed," "An Exposition of the Benedictions of Jacob," and commentaries on Hosea, Joel, and Amos. These last are of considerable value.

The most important of the original works, however, is the

EXPOSITION OF THE CREED.

As to the origin of the creed, Rufinus declares that, after the ascension, the apostles, before dispersing on their several missions, arranged among themselves a formula for the profession of the faith, to be uniform in all the churches of the world, and that they gave it the name of symbol, to express either the result of their conference, or the summary of the articles under a like conception of faith, in opposition to the erroneous doctrines which had already begun to spread in St. Paul's day, or, finally, to distinguish the faithful, in allusion to the military symbol or standard which served to distinguish the soldiers of an army, and prevent them from being confounded with the enemy. They did not reduce it to writing, but were content to have it impressed upon the hearts of the faithful, so keeping it from the knowledge of the pagans. Taking up each article separately, the author, after explaining the slight variations of form in different churches, remarks upon the first, "I believe in God," that by the word God we understand a sub-

sistence above all, a principle eternal, without beginning or end, simple, without mixture of any kind, invisible, without body, infinite in his perfections. He who has given being to all that is has not received existence from any. "The Father." Whoever speaks of a father supposes a son, as the words master, lord, designate a servant, a some one dependent. As to the mystery of the divine generation, the secret is impenetrable. Curiosity here would become temerity. If it is to be carried further, let one begin by giving a reason for the mysteries that are around us on all sides in nature. Let him explain, if he can, the union of the soul and the body, the phenomena of the memory and of light. If these things under our eyes are incomprehensible, how much more what is so far beyond the portals of our understanding! We believe, upon the faith of God's own word, that he is the Father, because he has borne witness to his Son, in these words: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him." "He that hath seen me," said the divine Son, "hath seen the Father also;" "I and my Father are one." After a declaration thus formal, who would dare to raise doubts, to separate what is united, to oppose what he who is himself the truth affirms with his own lips? We call him Father, not as begetting after the manner of men, but as producing of his own substance a Son who is all that he is himself, almighty like himself. "And in Jesus Christ, his only Son our Lord." "Jesus," that is to say, Saviour, prefigured by the Hebrew leader who brought the people of God into the land of promise, as our Saviour Jesus frees us from the yoke of error, and opens to us the kingdom of heaven. "Christ," that is, anointed and sacred, as being the eternal high-priest, whom God his Father has anointed with the Holy Ghost sent from heaven. "His son," by nature, not by adop-

tion. "Only," because he is the sole, is one with God his Father, equal to him in all things, as making with him only one and the same substance. "Who was born of the Virgin Mary by the operation of the Holy Spirit." Jesus Christ passed through the body of a virgin without blemish, as a ray of the sun traverses objects the most gross without contracting a stain from the touch. The divinity is not subject to any impression from the senses. "Who was crucified under Pontius Pilate." A circumstance which the apostles marked with care, to fix the epoch of his death, and to leave in the minds of the faithful no doubt as to the truth of his sufferings. The prophecies of the passion are here traced in comparison with the events. "Who rose from the dead." He was not held by the bands of death, but, in rising, he burst the gates of death, as a king, who enters a prison to open the doors, breaks the bolts, and frees those who are there detained. "Who ascended into heaven; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead." The prophecies of these events as well as of the resurrection are here examined. "And in the Holy Spirit." By this confession of faith we recognize the mystery of the most holy trinity. As we say Father, Son, and there is no other Father or Son, so we say Holy Spirit, and there is no other Holy Spirit. The Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, are one in substance, but are distinguished personally. We say "Father," as being the principle of all; "Son," as being born of his Father; the "Holy Spirit," as proceeding from the Father and the Son and sanctifying all; the same Holy Spirit who inspired the prophets of the Old Testament, the evangelists and apostles of the New Testament. "In the Catholic Church," holy, where there is only one faith and one baptism. The author gives a list of the canonical books, and recalls the principal heresies, pro-

nouncing anathemas upon them, as being separate from the true Church, and applying to them the words of the prophet: "I hate the assembly of the wicked, and I will not make my seat with the unrighteous." "In the resurrection of the body." Here Rufinus enlarges, affirming that the soul will be reunited to the same flesh which it had animated in the world, however that flesh may have been divided and dispersed. As to "the life everlasting," the author ends his exposition with a prayer that God may give to all those who hear this symbol, and keep its faith inviolable, the crown of righteousness; that he may give them grace to be among the number who shall awake unto eternal life, and be delivered from the confusion and shame which shall have no end.

AUGUSTINE.

FOR all the other great fathers we have found some distinctive title. This man is simply Augustine—too large a figure in the ecclesiastical world to need defining. He was born at Tagasta, a town of Numidia, in North Africa, November 13, A. D. 354. His father, a man of moderate means, was yet anxious for his son's advancement, and provided for him a liberal education. His mother, Monica, was a devout Christian, whose prayers and counsels, unheeded by him in his boyhood, yet largely affected his career. His first pursuit was the profession of rhetoric at his native town, and then at Carthage. In youth he had been dissipated, but, by reading Cicero's "*Hortensius*," he was roused to a desire for wisdom, by which, finding the Scriptures too

humble for his tastes, he was led to join the Manichæans, who promised to unfold to him all knowledge. In vain his mother tried to disabuse him of this error. He continued in it nine years, but was at last delivered by discovering the hollowness of the pretensions of one Faustus, whom the sect had long been holding up before him as the embodiment of wisdom. In his twenty-ninth year he went to Rome, where he taught rhetoric for a time. Thence he went to Milan, where he came under the influence of Ambrose, and was converted and baptized. From this period began his productive career as a writer. Returning to Africa, he spent three years in retirement at Tagasta. In the year 391 he was ordained a presbyter by Aurelius, bishop of Hippo-Regius, who four years later made him co-bishop of that church. Succeeding in time to the full charge, Augustine spent here his remaining life, and the bishop of Hippo, above metropolitan and primate, became the chief bishop of Africa.

Four features of his work may be noted : First, though not especially prominent, his interest in the monastic life, a modified form of which he instituted at Hippo. Secondly, his opposition to the errors of the Manichæans, against whom he wrote various books, though traces of their early influence always followed him, and, in the opinion of some, affected not a little his theological system. Thirdly, his relations with the Donatists. If he at times allowed himself to appeal to the support of the civil authorities against this dissenting body, and even justified the use of harsh measures to reclaim recusants, his influence was, on the whole, pacific. Still, in his

conference with the Donatist leaders, he left no uncertainty as to his idea of the Church as one great organic body, spread throughout the world, from which, if any isolated body chose to differ, they cut themselves off from the true body of Christ. Last, and chiefly, his anthropological system of doctrine. The distinctive features of this system are traced in our account of his writings. As will be seen by Dupin's summary of them, they are not always logically consistent, but they formed a definite and a mighty body of doctrine, which has affected the entire thought of the Western world. It would be of interest to trace, with Neander, the development of this rigid system in Augustine's own mind; but we can only remark that, in the years immediately following his conversion and escape from Manichæism, he was far from the fatalistic opinion which he afterward reached. Free-will, such as is recognized by men generally, was then a real thing to him, and his general grasp of truth did not differ materially from that of the theologians of Southern Gaul, whom he afterward opposed.

To the general influence of Augustinianism in the history of the Church, we have alluded sufficiently in the preface to this volume.

The closing days of Augustine's life were darkened by the misfortune of his country. He died at Hippo, August 28, 430, while the besieging Vandals were before the walls of the town.

The large space given to his chief work, "The City of God," is due to the fact that it is not only the greatest book of the patristic literature, but also one of the few great books of the world.

CONFESSIONS.

To tell the story of their own outward lives with perfect candor, nothing extenuating, and setting down naught in the malice of overwrought humility—how few men or women have had the natural ability or the grace ! But here a man has photographed his spirit, has carried us down beneath the surface, and lifted us up above the externals of his being, has discovered his secret motives, has shown us the working of his mind, has carried us with him in the out-rushings of his soul, until we know him as we do not know ourselves. And while there are confessions and wailings which from most men would seem insincere, and avowals and protestations which from most men would seem presumptuous, no discerning reader ever questions the author's candor.

A book of the ages, our outline of it must yet be brief, to admit some characteristic extracts. The work is in thirteen books, the first ten giving an account of Augustine's life to the time of his entering the Church.

It begins thus : "Great art thou, O Lord, and greatly to be praised ; great is thy power, and thy wisdom infinite. And thee man would praise ; man, but a particle of thy creation ; man, that bears about him his mortality, the witness of his sin, the witness that thou, O God, resistest the proud ; yet would man praise thee : he, but a particle of thy creation. Thou awakest us to delight in thy praise ; for thou madest us for thyself, and our heart is restless until it repose in thee."

The first book describes the author's infancy, and discovers sins of which to accuse himself while at his mother's breast. His boyhood he charges with an aversion to study, a love for play, and a fear of punishment, and with loving the study of fables and poetical fiction, and hating the principles

of grammar, and especially the Greek language. Falling sick at this time, he desired to be baptized, but, improving, the rite was postponed from the fear that he might defile himself with new sins, "because," he says, "the defilement of sin would, after that washing, bring greater and more perilous guilt."

Book second recalls the exercises of his life in his sixteenth year, a period of idleness between his earlier and more advanced studies. He especially dwells upon a certain robbing of a pear-tree, in which he says he engaged from the pure love of wickedness.

Book third bewails his career at Carthage, where he entered a school of rhetoric ; how, while a leader in his studies, he yet wallowed in sensual pleasures, and was carried away with love for theatrical plays, until he came to read Cicero's "*Hortensius*," by which he was awakened to a desire for wisdom. Not finding in the book the name of Jesus Christ, which "name of my Saviour, thy Son," he says, "had my tender heart, even with my mother's milk, devoutly drunk in, and deeply treasured," he began to study the Scriptures. But, offended at their lowliness as compared with the stateliness of Cicero, and unable to penetrate their interior meaning, he soon fell a victim to the errors of the Manichæans, who promised to bring him to a knowledge of the truth. These errors he refutes, and tells of the prayers and tears of his mother, who ceased not to plead for his deliverance from them.

He continued in this error, however, as book four shows, for nine years. During a part of this time, having finished his education, he taught rhetoric at Tagasta. The death of an intimate friend so affected him that he removed to Carthage. This book contains reflections upon grief, true and false friendships, and love of fame, and relates the ease with which Augustine had mastered secular learning.

In his twenty-ninth year, says the fifth book, a certain Faustus, a great light among the Manichæans, came to Carthage. Expecting wonderful things from him, Augustine was so disappointed that from that time his faith in Manichæism was shaken. Soon after, he removed to Rome, whence after a short time he went to Milan as a professor of rhetoric. Here, under the ministration of Ambrose, he wholly renounced his Manichæism, and was enrolled as a catechumen in the Catholic Church.

Book six relates the progress of his conversion, which was furthered by the influence of his mother, Monica, who had now followed him to Milan. The conflict of his mind in deciding whether to devote himself to attaining the good of his soul or to go on in his present life and seek worldly promotion is described ;¹ as also his bondage to his physical passions, which made him cling to the concubine to which he had long been faithful, and on her return to Africa led him to procure for himself another.

In book seven, we have told us the exercises of Augustine's mind over the nature of God and the origin of evil, and how he is assisted to the truth by Platonic writings, so far as to come to the knowledge of God, and, afterward, by the Scriptures is led to a knowledge of Christ as the Mediator.

Book eight relates how Augustine, now convinced of the truth, was moved to embrace the Christian life, by the story of Victorinus's conversion and profession, and still further moved by a story of Pontitianus. By the last he is made to face his own heart. "Thou again," he says, "didst set me over against myself, that I might find out mine iniquity and hate it." The struggle which then ensues is the crisis of his life, and ends in his choice of God.²

Giving up his profession, as we learn from book nine, Augustine retired into the country for the vintage vacation, where, besides preparing himself for

baptism, he composed several books. He was baptized by Ambrose, in company with his friend Alypius and his natural son Adeodatus. After an account of the origin of the singing of the church of Milan, the book relates the death of Monica, at Ostia, as the family were returning to Africa, and closes with Augustine's prayer in her behalf, and his commendation of her to the prayers of all who shall read his confessions.

Having shown in the former books what he had been, the author in book ten shows what he now is. He loves God ; of this he is conscious ; but who is God, and whence comes our knowledge of him ?³ This leads to a remarkable disquisition on the memory, after which he shows that his knowledge of God was established in his memory by God himself.⁴ He discourses of the three main passions of men, the love of pleasures, of knowledge, and of glory, showing his own attitude toward them. Lastly, he speaks of Christ the only mediator, who will heal all infirmities.

Books eleven to thirteen digress to the discussion of recondite themes connected with the first part of the book of Genesis.

EXTRACTS.

Perplexities and Vacillations.

1. "I said to myself, 'O you great men, ye Academicians, it is true, then, that no certainty can be attained for the ordering of life ! Nay, let me search the more diligently, and despair not. Lo ! things in the ecclesiastical books are not absurd to me now, which sometimes seemed absurd, and may be otherwise taken, and in a good sense. I will take my stand where, as a child, my parents placed me, until the clear truth be found out. And where shall it be sought, or when ? Ambrose has no lei-

sure ; I have no leisure to read : where shall I find even the books ? whence or when procure them ? from whom borrow them ? Let set times be appointed, and certain hours ordered for the health of my soul. Great hope has dawned ; the Catholic faith teaches not what I thought and vainly accused it of ; her instructed members hold it profane to believe God to be bounded by the figure of a human body ; and shall I hesitate to "knock" that the rest "may be opened" ? The forenoons my scholars take up : what do I during the rest of the day ? Why not examine this subject ? But when shall I pay court to my great friends, whose favor I need ? When compose what I may sell to my scholars ? When refresh myself, unbending my mind from this intenseness of care ?

"Perish everything ; dismiss these empty vanities, and betake myself to the one search for truth ! Life is vain, death uncertain ; if it steals upon me on a sudden, in what state shall I depart hence ? and where shall I learn what here I have neglected ? and shall I not rather suffer the punishment of this negligence ? What if death itself cut off and end all care and feeling ? Then must this be ascertained. But God forbid this ! It is no vain and empty thing, but the excellent dignity of the authority of the Christian faith hath overspread the whole world. Never would such and so great things be wrought for us by God, if with the death of the body the life of the soul came to an end. Wherefore do I delay, then, to abandon worldly hopes, and give myself wholly to seek after God and the blessed life ? But wait ! Worldly things are pleasant ; they have no small sweetness. I must not lightly abandon them, for it were a shame to return again to them. See, it is no difficult matter now to obtain some station, and then what more should I wish for ? I have store of powerful friends ; if nothing

else offer, and I in much haste, at least a presidentship may be given me ; and a wife with some money, that she increase not my charges ; and this shall be the bound of my desire. Many great men, and most worthy of imitation, have given themselves to the study of wisdom in the state of marriage.'

"While I went over these things, and these winds shifted and drove my heart this way and that, time passed on, but I delayed to turn to the Lord, and from day to day deferred to live to thee, and so died in myself. Loving a happy life, I feared to seek it in its own true abode, and sought it by fleeing from it."—*Book VI, sec. xi.*

Conversion.

2. Deeply moved by the story of Pontitianus, Augustine had hurried out into the garden attached to his house, followed by his friend Alypius. A violent mental struggle had occurred before the events which he relates in the following words :

"This controversy in my heart was self against self only. But Alypius, sitting close by my side, in silence waited the issue of my unwonted emotion. And when a deep consideration had, from the secret bottom of my soul, drawn together and heaped up all my misery in the sight of my heart, there arose a mighty storm, bringing a mighty shower of tears, which, that I might pour forth wholly in its natural expression, I rose from Alypius : solitude seemed to me fitter for the business of weeping ; so I retired so far that even his presence could not be a burden to me. Thus was it with me, and he perceived something of it ; for I suppose I had spoken something wherein the tones of my voice appeared choked with weeping as I had risen up. He remained where we were sitting, most extremely astonished. I cast myself down, I know not how, under a certain fig-tree, giving full vent to my tears ;

and the floods of mine eyes gushed out an acceptable sacrifice to thee. And not, indeed, in these words, yet to this purpose, spoke I much unto thee : and 'Thou, O Lord, how long? how long, Lord, wilt thou be angry forever? Remember not our former iniquities,' for I felt that I was held by them. I sent up these sorrowful words : How long? how long? 'to-morrow and to-morrow'? Why not now? why, this hour, is there not an end to my uncleanness?

"So was I speaking and weeping in the most bitter contrition of my heart, when lo! I heard from a neighboring house a voice as of boy or girl, I know not, chanting and oft repeating, '*Tolle lege—tolle lege*' ('Take up and read—take up and read'). Instantly my countenance altered; I began to think most intently, whether children were wont in any kind of play to sing such words; nor could I remember ever to have heard the like. So checking the torrent of my tears I arose; interpreting it to be no other than a command from God to open the book and read the first chapter I should find; for I had heard of Antony, that coming in during the reading of the gospel, he received the admonition, as if what was being read was spoken to him: 'Go, sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come and follow me,' and by such oracle he was forthwith converted to thee. Eagerly, then, I returned to the place where Alypius was sitting, for there had I laid the volume of the apostle when I arose thence. I seized, opened, and in silence read that passage on which my eyes first fell: 'Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh,' in concupiscence. No further would I read; nor needed I; for instantly, at the end of this sentence,

by a light as it were of serenity infused into my heart, all the darkness of doubt vanished away.

"Then putting my finger between, or some other mark, I shut the volume, and with a calmed countenance made it known to Alypius, and what was wrought in him, which I knew not, he thus showed me. He asked to see what I had read; I showed him; and he looked even further than I had read, and I knew not what followed. This followed: 'Him that is weak in the faith, receive,' which he applied to himself, and disclosed to me. And by this admonition was he strengthened; and by a good resolution and purpose, and according to his natural character, in which he was far different from me, and far better, without any turbulent delay he joined me. Thence we go in to my mother; we tell her; she rejoices; we relate in order how it took place; she leaps for joy, and triumphs, and blesses thee, 'who art able to do above that which we ask or think,' for she perceived that thou hadst given her more for me than she was wont to beg by her pitiful and most sorrowful groanings; for thou convertedst me unto thyself so that I sought neither wife, nor any hope of this world, standing in that rule of faith where thou hadst showed me unto her in a vision, so many years before."—*Book VIII, sec. xii.*

Love and Knowledge of God.

3. "Not with doubting, but with assured consciousness, do I love thee, Lord. Thou hast smitten my heart with thy word, and I love thee. Yea, also, 'heaven and earth, and all that therein is,' behold on every side they bid me love thee; nor cease to say so unto all 'that they may be without excuse.' But more deeply 'wilt thou have mercy on whom thou wilt have mercy, and wilt have compassion on whom thou hast had compassion'; else in deaf ears do the heaven and the earth speak

thy praises. But what do I love when I love thee? not the beauty of bodies, nor the fair harmony of time, nor the brightness of the light so gladsome to our eyes, nor sweet melodies of varied songs, nor the fragrant smell of flowers and ointments and spices, nor manna and honey, nor limbs acceptable to the embracements of flesh. None of these do I love when I love my God; and yet I love a kind of light, a kind of melody, a kind of fragrance, a kind of meat, a kind of embracement, when I love my God—the light, the melody, the fragrance, the meat, the embracement of the inner man, where there shineth unto my soul what space can not contain, and there soundeth what time beareth not away, and there smelleth what breathing diminisheth not, and there clingeth what satiety divorceth not. This is it which I love when I love my God.

“And what is this? I asked the earth, and it answered me, ‘I am not he,’ and whatsoever are in it confessed the same. I asked the sea and the deeps, and the living creeping things, and they answered, ‘We are not thy God, seek above us.’ I asked the morning air; and the whole air with its inhabitants answered, ‘Anaximenes was deceived, I am not God.’ I asked the heavens, sun, moon, and stars, ‘Nor (say they) are we the God whom thou seekest.’ And I replied unto all things which encompass the door of my flesh: ‘Ye have told me of my God, that ye are not he; tell me something of him.’ And they cried out with a loud voice, ‘He made us.’ My questioning them was my thoughts on them; and their form of beauty gave the answer. And I turned myself unto myself, and said to myself, ‘Who art thou?’ And I answered, ‘A man.’ And behold in me there present themselves to me soul and body, one without, the other within. By which of these ought I to seek my

God? I had sought him in the body from earth to heaven, so far as I could send messengers, the beams of mine eyes. But the better is the inner, for to it, as presiding and judging, all the bodily messengers reported the answers of heaven and earth, and all things therein, who said, 'We are not God, but he made us.' These things did my inner man know by the ministry of the outer: I, the inner, knew them; I, the mind, through the senses of my body. I asked the whole frame of the world about my God; and it answered me, 'I am not he, but he made me.'—*Book X, sec. vi.*

God revealing Himself.

4. "Where, then, did I find thee, that I might learn thee? For in my memory thou wert not, before I learned thee. Where did I find thee, that I might learn thee, but in thyself above me? Place there is none: 'We go backward and forward,' and there is no place. Everywhere, O Truth, dost thou give audience to all who ask counsel of thee, and at once answereth all, though on manifold matters they ask thy counsel.

"Clearly dost thou answer, though all do not clearly hear. All consult thee on what they wish, though they hear not always what they wish. He is thy best servant who looks not so much to hear that from thee which himself wills, as rather to will that which from thee he hears.

"Too late I loved thee, O thou Beauty of ancient days, yet ever new! too late I loved thee! And behold thou wert within, and I abroad, and there I searched for thee; deformed I, plunging amid those fair forms which thou hadst made.

"Thou wert with me, but I was not with thee. Things held me far from thee, which, unless they were in thee, were not at all. Thou didst call, and shout, and burst my deafness. Thou didst flash,

shine, and scatter my blindness. Thou didst breathe odors, and 'I drew in breath' and 'panted for thee.' I tasted, and 'hunger and thirst.' Thou touchdest me, and I burned for thy peace."—*Book X, secs. xxvi, xxvii.*

RETRACTIONS.

Three years before his death Augustine wrote a critical review of all his writings, the "Retractions," in which he points out the design of each work, and the circumstances of its composition, and also explains and amends certain passages. The work is of great value for authenticating the author's numerous productions.

AUGUSTINE'S CITY OF GOD.

Part First: Books I-X. Against the Pagan Religion.

Book I. This work is undertaken as a defense against those who attribute the present calamities to the religion of Christ, and prefer their own false gods to the founder of the city of which we speak.

Many of these were saved at the sack of Rome by appealing to the Christian compassion of the enemy. For them the churches became asylums in which refugees found safety. This was a new thing in war, for the pagan temples had been rather depositories of spoils than places of refuge. The temporal evils which came upon the good in this great calamity, came because of even their—lighter—sins; because they had not faithfully rebuked wickedness, and had loved the world. Those who had then laid up treasures by distribution to the poor did not lose them. Yet the sufferings and even the deaths which came upon the Christians were no real evils, for by them they were not separated from God. The example of Regulus proves that virtue does not avert sufferings. Why should men dread

to have a whole city full like him ? Even the violation of virgins when not consented to by them was no contamination to their souls, and the Christians who so suffered did better than Lucretia in not taking their own lives. For suicide is not magnanimous. Cato must be blamed when compared with Regulus. Even when dishonor threatens, we should not seek to obviate an uncertain sin by a certain one. God may have permitted this calamity to Christians to keep them humble. Leastwise he had some good and wise purpose therein.

Even the Pontiff Scipio Nasica sought to repress the luxury of Rome, and discouraged the scenic entertainments commanded by the gods. Many now, however, whom God has spared that they may be admonished are rushing blindly to the shows. But let it be remembered that at present the temporal and eternal cities are closely intertwined.

Book II. I would instruct the ignorant, and remind those not ignorant of the former calamities of the city. The gods, remember, did not even give you pure laws. On the contrary, the rights of their worship were promotive of corruption. Such scandalous representations as were given of their gods in the theatre, were not permitted by the Romans of their own public men ; and they would not admit actors to any place of honor in society. Greeks, on the contrary, honored players who simply carried out the commands of the gods. Hence the following syllogism : " The Greeks give us the major premise : If such gods are to be worshiped, then, certainly, such men may be honored. The Romans add the minor : But such men must by no means be honored. The Christians draw the conclusion : Therefore such gods must by no means be worshiped." The morality of Plato was far superior to that of the gods, as indeed was that of the Romans themselves, whose laws came from other sources

than the gods. Yet even in the purest days of the republic, Sallust says, it was only fear that kept the Romans in restraint. With the fall of Carthage they lost this fear, and disorders came. If these disorders are not imputed to the gods, why impute the present calamities to Christianity? Cicero, before the birth of Christ, confessed that the republic had ceased to be, through the loss of the old morality. On the contrary, they made of the worst men, like Sylla, their favorites, and their own examples incited men to war and license. If it is said that they taught morality to the few, the more is the shame that they debauched the state. Christianity does, however, teach righteousness. "Awake, then, Romans; be sure God can not be propitiated by what defiles man."

Book III. In this book are enumerated the numerous external disasters, civil wars, etc., which, like the spiritual evils already spoken of, afflicted Rome before the coming of Christ.

Book IV. The multitude of the Roman gods is here pointed out, and the unreasonableness of the position assigned to various of the deities, for example, Felicity. If, as some pagans say, the names of the gods are but names, yet are attached to real gods who are unknown, then this unknown is not Jupiter, but is God. Scævola, the learned Roman pontiff, distinguished three kinds of gods: 1. Of the poets; these he pronounces trifling. 2. Of the philosophers; these were not to be made known to the people from motives of policy. 3. Of the statesmen; these are false representations, which are given to the people for expediency's sake. "Excellent religion! which, when the weak flies to it for succor, can only deceive." Varro, though he would from policy teach the people of the multitude of gods, yet says that they only know of God who believe him to be the soul of the world.

The Romans, he says, worshiped one hundred and seventy years without images, and their worship would have been purer if, like the Jews, they had continued without images. Varro, indeed, needed but little more light to see the truth. Kingdoms are the gift, not of the gods, but of God.

Book V. The preface of this book says that the purpose is to inquire why the Roman Empire had been so prolonged. The answer is, substantially, because God would give temporal rewards for the virtue of a few Roman citizens.

The book opens with a remarkable discussion upon free-will and the foreknowledge of God. It closes with an allusion to the prosperity of the Christian emperors.

Book VI. The ensuing books are to treat of the power of the gods to confer eternal life. Since they are not able, as already shown, to confer temporal gifts, it were absurd to look to them for what is eternal.

This is not even claimed by those who have distributed to the gods their several occupations. Varro, most learned concerning the gods, wrote of things which are unfit to be read, being overpowered by the custom of his times. In his forty-one books of antiquities, he treats first of human affairs, and afterward, as being instituted by states, and so coming later, of divine things. He makes three kinds of theology—mythical, physical, and civil. The first, taught by the poets, contains many fictions; the second, also called natural theology, is taught by the philosophers, but not in the forum; the third is what citizens and priests should understand and administer. No one would be so absurd as to hope for eternal life from the mythical or civil gods. For these, indeed, are the same, the teachings of the temples being the same as those of the stage. Seneca openly condemns the civil theology, setting forth its

scandals as plainly as Varro reveals those of the mythical. Nevertheless, being prescribed by the laws, Seneca followed these civil customs while despising them. He condemned the Jewish Sabbath as useless and wasteful, yet did allow that the Jews knew the origin of their rites, while the Roman people did not.

Book VII. Chapters one to twenty-eight show that the so-called select gods, Jove, Janus, Juno, etc., have no more power than the lesser gods to confer eternal life. What the physical theorists say of parts of the world should be said of God. We worship the one God, who has created all things attributed to the care of the many gods. Though lavishing his bounty on good and bad alike, he especially manifests his love, and bestows eternal rest on the good. In all the past there has been a foreshadowing of this eternal life among the Hebrew people. The Christian religion alone has made known the deceit of demons. The books of Numa Pompilius, detailing the causes of the rites of worship, which, discovered after his death, were burned by order of the Senate, were written by the king through the aid of demons.

Book VIII. Coming now to natural theology, which alone is worthy our serious discussion, we shall deal only with those philosophers who believe in the divine as concerned with human affairs, yet deny that the worship of God is sufficient.

There were two schools of the Greek philosophy : the Italic, founded by Pythagoras ; and the Ionic, founded by Thales. The first to direct philosophy to the regulation of morals was Socrates. Of his many disciples Plato was the chief. Pythagoras having excelled in the contemplative, Socrates in the active, Plato combines both these elements, dividing philosophy into (1) moral, occupied with action ; (2) natural, devoted to contemplation ; (3)

rational, discriminating between the true and the false. He entertained such an idea of God as to admit that in him are to be found the cause of existence, the ultimate reason for the understanding, and the end in reference to which the whole life is to be regulated. Since, then, the Platonists are nearer to us than all others, we discourse only with them.

In natural philosophy, the Platonic is above every other form in seeking the Supreme; teaching that he only absolutely *is*, and through him all else comes to *be*. So, also, in rational and in moral philosophy the Platonic is first; teaching as to morals that the chief end or good is found, not in man, but in God—in living according to virtue, which can only be done by imitating God. Those philosophers are preferred by us who approach the above conceptions, whatever their name or school. Christians, though they may not even know of the above philosophical divisions, do know of God better than the philosophers. There is evidence in Plato's writings that he had heard of the Hebrew Scriptures, for example, in his teaching that God is he who *is*. We take issue with the Platonists in that they worship many gods—gods even which require scenic displays, which Plato banishes from his ideal state. But the Platonists reply that in forbidding plays they offend not the gods, but only the demons, who hold a middle place between God and men. Apulius makes the demon who attended Socrates a good demon. We contend that demons are not to be placed above men on account of their more ethereal bodies; for many animals surpass man in certain bodily features. We are better than the demons in having virtue, and in having hope in place of the despair of demons. Should we indeed worship these beings, whose acts true religion forbids to us? And how can they urge that these unclean demons can mediate between men and gods?

As to demons carrying reports of men's actions to the gods, are the gods dependent on them? And will they rightly report men's virtues, as, for example, Plato's opposition to scenic displays?

Rejecting this idea of their being such messengers, we rather believe them to be alien spirits. Yet they have gained such power over many as even to make some Christians believe them divine. Hermes Trismegistus said to Æsculapius that, as God made the celestial gods, so men had made certain gods, those, namely, who dwell in the images. These Hermes thought were to be overthrown. We have a certain connection with the good angels, not through the interposition of demons, but by the possession of a good-will. We honor our martyred dead, but we by no means accord to them divine honors.

Book IX. As to the character of demons, they are a prey to their passions, being, as it were, suspended head downward in the air, their inferior parts in common with the gods, their superior parts in common with men. Men, being mortal, are less wretched than they. How can they be mediators? Not even the good angels can so mediate. The only true Mediator is Christ, who, having eternal blessedness, chose mortality, thus having somewhat in common with God and with man. Practically the word demon is applied only in a bad sense. If the Platonists chose to call the good angels "gods," it is but a matter of words. Indeed, the Scriptures say "God of gods," "King above all gods," etc. Nevertheless, the saying of the apostle is that there is one God the Father, and one Lord Jesus Christ. Yet we differ from the Platonists in saying that these blessed ones, not the demons, are God's messengers.

Book X. The angels, we hold, do not desire men's worship, but rather to have them find bless-

edness as they themselves find it in the worship of God only. Surely, sacrifice should be given only to him. He does not, indeed, need such sacrifice, but would have it as an expression of the love of his worshippers. The true sacrifice to God is the work which is done that we may be united to God in holy fellowship. The miracles of our religion were not wrought by magic, which we utterly repudiate, but by the true God, with a loving purpose.

The greatest miracle is man himself. They who would deny the credibility of our sacred books, might as well say that there is no God, but we are not now arguing against such. As to the offering of visible sacrifice to God, we say it is permissible as an expression of the invisible. Christ, as a man, declined to receive sacrifice, and chose rather himself to be a sacrifice. Of this supreme sacrifice, to which all others now give place, we make a daily sign in the churches. The power granted to demons has proved harmless to the city of God, rather proving useful, by giving martyrs to the Church. Porphyry admits that purification is not by sacrifice, but through what he calls "Principles." We acknowledge one "principle," that is one God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Christ, the Word, is such principle, though this was denied by Porphyry, on account of the incarnation. The saints, even those before Christ, have obtained purification through faith in this mystery, and by godliness of life. Porphyry's blindness to Christ as the mind of the Father—*πατρικὸς νοῦς*—was due to his aversion to Christ's humility, not to any speculative difficulty. Would, indeed, that he might have known him! Porphyry modified in some points the teachings of Plato, denying for example that souls of men come back into the bodies of animals, though allowing that they come back into the bodies of men. He denied, too, that purified souls returned to earth af-

ter certain cycles. We differ from the Platonists in holding that souls are not co-eternal with God, but were created, and once were not. Christianity is that "universal way" of deliverance for souls, which Porphyry confessed that none had found, though he did not deny its existence. That Porphyry did not see this royal way in Christianity, was perhaps due to the fierce persecution of his day which made him think that Christians were utterly to perish from the earth. Of the prophecies of this Christian way, so many have already been fulfilled, that we confidently expect the fulfillment of all the rest.

Part Second: Books XI-XXII; Establishing the Christian Faith—treating of the Origin, Progress, and Destiny of the Earthly and the Heavenly Cities.

Book XI. Speculations upon the Creation of the World.—The city of God, of which we now speak, is testified of in Scripture. "Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God." We shall consider the origin, progress, and destiny of this city, and of the earthly city. God speaks to man not by vibrations of the air, and not by visions, but by the truth. But, since man's mind is disabled from receiving his light until it is renewed, it must be impregnated with faith, and so purified. "And that in this faith it might advance the more confidently toward the truth, the truth itself, God, God's Son, assuming humanity, without destroying his divinity, established and founded this faith, that there might be a way for man to man's God through a God-man. For this is the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus. . . . Now the only way that is infallibly secured against all mistakes is when the very same person is at once God and man, God our end, man our way." This Mediator "has produced the Scripture, which is called canonical, which has paramount authority, and to which we

yield assent in all matters of which we ought not to be ignorant, and yet can not know of ourselves." "Of all visible things, the world is the greatest ; of all invisible, the greatest is God. But that the world is, we see ; that God is, we believe. That God made the world, we can believe from no one more safely than from God himself. But when have we heard him ? Nowhere more distinctly than in the Holy Scriptures." The knowledge of the writers thereof was imparted to them by wisdom, as also by the angels of God. In making the world God had no new purpose. The world and time began simultaneously. The "days" of creation, and those first mornings and evenings before the creation of the sun, must be figurative terms, and the light may have meant the knowledge of the city of God. The rest of the seventh day was not a literal rest, but a something which prophesied of the rest remaining to the people of God. As to the angels they were created before the six days, or perhaps as a part of the "light" of the first day. Those angels who fell did not share to the full the blessings of those who did not fall, else they too would have been steadfast. Possibly the eternity of the bliss of the good angels was assured after the fall of the others ; for they shall not fall, neither shall the devil return to blessedness. The devil was not by nature evil, as say the Manichæans, but "did not abide in the truth." He was indeed created by God, but not the evil of his nature. Though in the order of nature the angelic is above the human, yet by the scale of justice a good man is of greater value than a bad angel. As the beauty of creation is heightened by contrasts, we may reason that God would not have created angels or men who should fall, unless, by contraposition with the good, he could make some good use of them. The dividing of the light from the darkness may have included

the fall of the angels. God knows, not as man knows, but eternally. He knew that what he made was good, when he knew that it was good to be made. The good, we must consider to be the final cause of creation. This as against the Manichæans who call fire, storms, etc., evils, and claim that the creation was but a device of God for restraining evil. The formula of creation, "Let there be light," etc., hints at the divine Trinity. So do the three divisions of philosophy, which does not invent but only discovers truth. Man also is a certain image of the Trinity in that he (1) is, and (2) knows that he is, and (3) delights in this knowledge. This love of being, and of the knowledge thereof, is to be commended; for we are "created in the image of our Creator, whose eternity is true and whose truth is eternal, whose love is eternal and true." The holy angels know God and the truth as to things created, not by words, but by the presence of the Word, who is the truth.

Book XII. Of the Creation of Angels and Men, and of the Origin of Evil.—Our two cities originated among the angels. For, although the nature of all angels was originally the same, some became eternally blessed in choosing God, and some eternally miserable in turning from God; since there is no other good for rational and intelligent creatures save God only, a creature "can not be blessed of itself, since it is created out of nothing, but only by him by whom it has been created. For it is blessed by the possession of that whose loss makes it miserable. He, then, who is blessed, not in another, but in himself, can not be miserable, because he can not lose himself. So there is no unchangeable good, but the one true, blessed God." Only he is blessed who is in sympathy with him. That it is a fault of any creature not to cleave to God, shows that it is its nature so to

cleave to him. Thereby do we show that the apostate angels have not a foreign nature derived from some other being than God. No being or entity (*essentia*), but only nonentity, can by nature be contrary to that which supremely *is*. So no being is by nature contrary to God, the Supreme Being, and author of all being. All enemies of God are therefore such, not by nature, but by will. Since vice injures them, they must have had good natures, since the evil can not be injured.

Vice can not be in the highest good, and can not be but in some good. Things solely good, therefore, can in some circumstances exist; things solely evil, never; for even those natures which are vitiated by an evil will, so far indeed as they are vitiated, are evil, but, in so far as they are natures, they are good. And when a vitiated nature is punished, besides the good it has in being a nature, it has this also, that it is not unpunished. For this is just, and certainly everything just is a good. For no one is punished for natural but for voluntary vices. For even the vice, which by force of habit and long continuance has become a second nature, had its origin in the will.

We are not to look for an efficient cause of this evil will; it has none. For defection from that which supremely is to that which has less of being—this is to begin to have an evil will. To seek to discover the cause of such defections is to seek to see darkness, to hear silence. The nature of God can never, nowhere, nowise be defective; natures made of nothing can. The will could not become evil were it unwilling to become so. Its defection is not toward things naturally evil, but is an evil inclination toward what is itself good. The goodwill of angels was created in them by God. Those angels that fell either needed less of grace at the first or were less assisted afterward.

Turning now to the other people of the city of God, we say that there is no truth in the assertion that the human race has existed many thousands of years, the documents claimed to prove it being baseless. To those who object that man should have been created so late as within the six thousand years of the Scripture record, we reply that there is no early or late in eternity. Nor is there need to resort to the doctrine of cycles.

Far be it from the Christian to believe in them : for once Christ died for our sins ; and rising from the dead he dieth no more. "Death hath no more dominion over him ; and we ourselves shall be 'ever with the Lord.' " The creation of man in time was in accord with God's eternal plan. God has always been Lord, and so in all time there has been a creation, yet it was not co-eternal with God. The fact of the eternal life of the saints explodes the doctrine of cycles, and of the periodic return of souls to labor and misery.

The human race was created in one man, a mean between bestial and angelic natures, and of such sort that, if he remained in subjection to his Creator, he should pass into the company of angels and obtain a blessed immortality without the intervention of death. God foreknew man's sin, but also that a great multitude would be redeemed to do his will. He made man in his own image, a soul endowed with reason and intelligence. The creative work of God was not with hands, but by God's invisible power. The angels were not creators, whatever part they may have been given by God in his work. In this one man created in the beginning was laid the foundation of our two cities so far as regards the human race.

Book XIII. Death the Penalty of Adam's Sin.—Man was so created that, if he had continued obedient, he would have had an angelic immortality.

without an intervening death. The soul is called immortal because in a sense it does not cease to live and to feel, yet it has a certain death of its own. This death takes place when God forsakes it, as the death of the body takes place when the soul forsakes it. The whole man dies when the soul forsaken by God forsakes the body. This death is to be followed by the second death when the soul and body are rejoined indissolubly and the body experiences the torments of retribution. As to death happening to the good, though it was a punishment of sin, we must say that men, having become sinners, were so punished with death that whatsoever sprang from their stock should also be punished with the same death. Their nature was so deteriorated that what existed as punishment in those who first sinned became a natural consequence in their children. For as man the parent is, such is man the offspring. In the first man there existed the whole human nature, which was to be transmitted by the woman to posterity when that conjugal union received the divine sentence of its own condemnation; and what man was made, not when created, but when he sinned and was punished, this he propagated so far as the origin of sin and death is concerned. The canceling of sin by grace does not abrogate the death of the body, lest thereby faith should be enervated. And by the conflict of faith, fear of this death is overcome; indeed, the good make good use of death, though it be in itself an evil. Martyrs, by enduring the first death, faithfully escape the second death. "Regarding what happens after death, it is no absurdity to say that death is good to the good, and evil to the evil; for the disembodied spirits of the just are at rest, but those of the wicked suffer till their bodies rise again—those of the just to life everlasting, and of the others to death eternal, which is called the second death."

The death threatened as the penalty for sin included all death, the first and the second. The first punishment of this transgression was the loss of divine grace and of mastery over flesh. "All men were in that one man who sinned, since we all were that one man. For though the particular form in which we as individuals were to live was not created and distributed to us, yet the seminal nature was there from which we were to be propagated; and this being vitiated by sin, and bound by the chain of death, and justly condemned, man could not be born of man in any other state. And thus from the bad use of free-will there originated the whole train of evil, which, with its concatenation of miseries, convoys the whole human race from its depraved origin, as from a corrupt root, on to the destruction of the second death, which has no end, those only being excepted who are freed by the grace of God." God did not desert man till man had deserted him, and the death of the body which followed was an infliction on account of sin, not merely a result of the law of nature. Against the philosophers who contend that terrestrial bodies can not be eternal, we bring their own doctrines that the gods have eternal bodies, and that the body of Jove or the world of which he is the soul is eternal. To the objection that the weight of bodies must draw them to the earth, we reply that spirit is mightier than earthly weights. The whole earth is suspended on nothing, keeping its central place perhaps by the same law that attracts to its center all heavy bodies.

Shall we then limit God's power as to bodies? Our renewed bodies, however, will be far better than our present bodies, better even than those of our first parents in paradise, all reluctance, all corruption, and all slowness being removed.

Though they are spiritual, the saints, while not

in need of food, will have power to eat and drink. Spiritual bodies will yet be bodies, not spirits, having the substance but not the unwieldiness and corruption of the flesh, being animated not by the living soul but by the quickening spirit. This body is now worn by Christ in anticipation of what we shall wear.

Book XIV. Of the Results of Sin, and as to the Propagation of the Race if Man had not sinned.—Among all the different peoples of earth there are only two kinds of society belonging to our two cities, and corresponding respectively to those who live after the flesh and after the spirit. To live after the flesh is not simply to indulge in sensual vices, but also to allow the soul in evil. Sin is not caused by the flesh, rather the sinful soul made the flesh corruptible. The devil sins without flesh. Man, living according to man and not according to God, is like the devil. All sin is a lie, in that it is committed to secure happiness, and it brings misery. The flesh must not be accused to the injury of the Creator, when it is the will which is at fault. The right will is well-directed love, and is toward the good; the wrong will is ill-directed love, that is, toward evil. Many emotions and passions, whose exercise the Stoics deny to the wise man, we say may be exercised by the good, only these emotions must be exercised toward suitable objects. Yet even well-regulated passions are confined to this life. The first pair were free from perturbations, and had they not sinned we too should have been free as the angels. The serpent, as the agent of the tempter, first solicited the weaker of the pair, the woman, to this sin. The man was led into it by human sympathy; still it was no less culpable. The evil act was preceded by an evil will, and the beginning of the wickedness was pride. "There is something in humility which strangely enough exalts the heart,

and something in pride which debases it. Pious humility enables us to submit to what is above us, and nothing is more exalted above us than God ; and therefore humility, by making us subject to God, exalts us. But pride, being a defect of nature, by the very act of refusing subjection, and revolting from him who is supreme, falls to a low condition, and then comes to pass what is written, 'Thou castedst them down when they lifted up themselves.' "

Therefore it is that humility is specially recommended to the city of God as it sojourns in this world, and is specially exhibited in the city of God and in the person of Christ its King ; while the contrary vice of pride, according to the testimony of the sacred writings, specially rules his adversary, the devil. The devil could not have ensnared man had he not first begun to live for himself. His fall into open transgression was useful to him, for then he became dissatisfied with himself. He had sought to be his own satisfaction, and God left him to himself, not in absolute independence, but to live dissatisfied with himself, and in hard bondage to him to whom he had yielded. He was condemned to eternal death because he had forsaken eternal life. The punishment of disobedience was disobedience, so that, in consequence of his not being willing to do what he could do, man now wills to do what he can not do. Our flesh is insubordinate to us. Lust, with its attendant shame, followed upon sin. Had man remained innocent, the race would have increased without passions, and the whole of the body would have remained under the control of the will, no part being as now under the domination of the passions. Such actually was the condition of things in paradise. But the sins of men and of angels do not thwart the great work of God. No future event ever escaped his foreknowledge ; nor did his fore-

knowledge compel any one to sin. He permitted sin when he might have prevented it, to show what evil could be wrought by pride, and what good accomplished by divine grace. Of our two cities, the one glories in itself, the other in the Lord.

Books XV-XVIII. The History of the Two Cities.

Book XV. From Adam to Noah.—Of the two cities, one was predestined to reign eternally, the other to suffer eternal punishment with the devil. Cain belonged to the latter, Abel to the former, city. Cain was wicked in that, while he gave something to God, he withheld himself. The good make use of the world, that they may enjoy God; but the bad would use God, that they may enjoy the world. Cain building a city set his affections upon the earth. Many people were doubtless there in the earth, and side by side with this earthly city was also the heavenly city; the two lines running respectively from Cain and from Seth. We are not to discredit the great size and the very great age of men in those days. Where the two lines mingled, it was "the sons of God taking the daughters of men," the sons of God being not angels, but the sons of Seth. The one hundred and twenty years fixed by God as the limit of man's days refer to the time then to elapse before the flood. The anger which God is then said to have felt was not a disturbing emotion, like the anger of men. The ark was a figure of the Church. Those who see only an historical statement in these accounts of the ark are in error, and so also are those who see in it only a figurative meaning.

Book XVI. From Noah to the Kings of Israel.—Whether there were godly worshipers between Noah and Abraham is left uncertain by Scripture. In the account, the descendants of Noah's sons are so many nations, not simply individuals. At Babylon

the tongues of men were confounded. When the Lord is said to have "come down to see the city and tower," it does not mean that he moved locally, but that he then made his presence felt in the earth. As to God's speaking to angels—as when he said, "Come, and let us go down and confound their speech"—it is in some ineffable manner, and not as man speaks with man. Notwithstanding some monstrous births, we must believe that all who are human have descended from Adam. As to the fable of the antipodes, that is, that on the other side of the earth there are men who walk with their feet opposite to ours, this is not credible. Whether after the flood, and before the confounding of the tongues, there were one or two cities, we can not say. The language used before this confusion was used in the family of Heber, the father of the Hebrews. From the time of Abraham the city of God becomes more conspicuous. The three most famous nations at that time were those of Assyria, Sicyon, and Egypt. God gave to Abraham his promise that his seed should possess the land of Canaan forever, that in him all the nations of the earth should be blessed, and that his seed should be as the stars for number. Believing these promises, he was justified. The promise of an "everlasting" possession of the land is expressed by the Greek word *αἰώνιον*. What is so termed "either has no end, or lasts to the very end of the world." By the rite of circumcision Abraham sealed his faith in this promise. If any are troubled that infants not receiving this rite were cut off, when it was no fault of theirs that they were not circumcised, he must remember that even infants, not personally in their own life, but according to the common origin of the human race, have all broken God's covenant, in that one in whom all have sinned, being thus born in sin, not actual but original. In the offering of

Isaac we have a type of the offering of Jesus. The saying concerning Isaac's sons, "The elder shall serve the younger," was a prophecy that the Jews should serve the Christians. We are not to think the guile of Jacob in obtaining his father's blessing fraudulent, but to seek in it a mystery wrought by inspiration from above. The wrestling of Jacob with the angel signified Christ's passion. And yet Jacob besought a blessing from the angel whom he overcame, and received as such blessing the name Israel, which means *seeing God*. He was also made lame; so that the blessing may be taken of those of the chosen people who believed, and the lameness of those who disbelieved.

The succession of the city of God was carried on from Jacob through his sons who went into Egypt, and were led out finally by Moses, and led into the land of promise by Joshua, the son of Nun. In the times of the Judges, which then succeeded, prosperity alternated with adversity in war, according as the sins of the people and the mercy of God were displayed.

Book XVII. From the Times of the Prophets to Christ.—The prophetic age extends from the time of Samuel to the restoration from the captivity. The Scriptures covering this period, even where seeming to be occupied with the history of events pertaining to the Kings, are more intent on foretelling things to come than in rehearsing the past. The promise of the possession of the land was now fulfilled under David and Solomon. Prophecies have a threefold meaning, referring to things earthly, to things heavenly, and to both combined. Thus the prophecy of Hannah was indeed a song of praise, but it was also a prophecy of the kingdom and of the judgment of Christ.

The prophecy of the transfer of the kingdom from the house of Saul was typical of the transfer

of the kingdom from Israel to Christ, and the division of the kingdom was a foreshadowing of the separation when part of the nation became followers of Christ. The promises made to David about his house were fulfilled, not in Solomon, but in Christ. David was probably the author of all the psalms, notwithstanding that the names of some prophets who lived after David are found in certain inscriptions.

The death and resurrection of Christ are prophesied in the 3d, 41st, 15th, and 68th psalms. The divided people, after varying experiences, were carried captive, Judah being restored and continuing until the Roman conquest. From Ezra down to Christ there were no prophets, save Zechariah and Elizabeth. After his birth, Simeon, Anna, and John prophesied.

Book XVIII. Contemporary Events in the History of the Two Cities.—Reverting now to the history of the earthly city, this book points out certain contemporary events in the two opposing parts of society. Assyria, the great earthly city of early times, was contemporary with Abraham. The Egyptian worship of Serapis, who in his lifetime was Apis, King of Argos, arose in the times of Joseph. The exodus from Egypt occurred when Cecrops was King of Athens. As yet but few heroes had been deified by the Greeks, among these Mercury and Hercules, and much earlier Minerva. According to Varro, Deucalion's flood occurred in the reign of Cranaos, Cecrops's successor. It was at this period that the rituals of the false gods and the Delphic games were instituted. Fables were invented during the period of the Judges, at which time the theological poets flourished. The first King of Laurentium, Picus, the son of Saturn, was contemporary with Deborah. In the days of his grandson Latinus, Troy fell. Æneas came into Italy in the times

of Abdon the Judge. Kings began to reign in Israel in the times of the Silvian kings of Latium. In the age of Solomon lived Codrus, the last King of Athens.

When Rome was founded Israel had been in the promised land 718 years, Hezekiah being King of Judah. The captivity occurred in the days of Tarquinius Priscus. During the period of the captivity flourished five of the seven sages; also, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Xenophanes, and Pythagoras. The close of the captivity was contemporary with the expulsion of the kings from Rome. The remarkable burst of prophecy from Isaiah, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Jonah, and Micah, was at the period of the downfall of the Assyrian and the establishment of the Roman Empire. Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, prophesied at the close of the captivity. The history of this period is given by Esdras. The record of the succeeding years down to the time of Aristobulus is not given in the Holy Scriptures, called by the Jews canonical, but in other books, among them the books of Maccabees, which the Church receives as Scripture. Thus our prophets precede the philosophers—Thales, the first of the sages, being but contemporary with the great burst of prophecy. Only the theological poets Orpheus, Linus, and Musæus, were older than the great prophets, and these were preceded by Moses. Even the learning of the Egyptians was antedated by Abraham.

The Scriptures were translated into Greek by seventy-two wise men, sent from Jerusalem by Eleazer the high-priest, to Ptolemy Philadelphus. Though each of these made a separate translation, they all agreed, to a word. This Septuagint version is to be preferred to those of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion; also to that of Jerome, though the last is acknowledged to be more true

to the Hebrew text. The seventy-two translators may be regarded as inspired to communicate truth, and they may have added some things not in the Hebrew text. Yet what is in the Hebrew, and not in the Greek, is also to be received.

It is not incongruous to believe that some outside of Israel proclaimed the coming of Christ, whether taught by grace or by bad angels.

Not even the Jews would contend that none have belonged to God but Israelites. Such men as Job, for example, doubtless had Christ revealed to them. In the preaching of the gospel we are now seeing the fulfillment of the prophecy that the law should go forth out of Zion, for now the Church spreads through the world. Reckoning the persecutions of the Church, ending with that by Diocletian and Maximian, ten in number, some are now claiming that only the Antichrist remains to come before the end of the world ; but this is a theme upon which it is not safe to conjecture. The time of the end is hidden from man.

Book XIX. On the End of the Two Cities, including a Review of Philosophic Opinions as to the Supreme Good.—In the opinions of the philosophers as to the supreme good, Varro discovers 288 varieties. These, however, he reduces to three primary sects : (1) those who desire the primary objects of nature for virtue's sake ; (2) those who desire virtue for the sake of these objects ; and (3) those who desire each for its own sake. Man, Varro says, is both soul and body, and thus the highest good involves both the bodily and the spiritual. Consequently the primary objects of nature are to be sought for their own sake ; and virtue, which is the art of living, and can be communicated by instruction, is to be deemed the most excellent spiritual good. Now, virtue, this art of regulating life, seeks all other things, and itself also for its own sake, and

uses all, that from them it may derive profit and enjoyment. When virtue is absent, no matter how many good things a man has, they are not for his good, and consequently should not be called good things while they belong to one who makes them useless by using them badly. The life of man, then, is called happy when it enjoys virtue, and these other spiritual and bodily good things, without which virtue is impossible. The happy life also is social, loving the advantages of friends as well as one's own. As to these things Varro entertains no doubt, and so agrees not with the New but with the Old Academy.

Christians now believe that the supreme good is life eternal, and the supreme evil eternal death; and that, to obtain one and avoid the other, one must live rightly, which can only be done by the help of God. All who have sought other ends, either in pleasure or in virtue, have with a marvelous shallowness sought an end in this life and in themselves, and the thoughts of such are vain. For what flood of eloquence can detail the miseries of this life? And even virtue is but a perpetual warfare against vice. The solace of friendships also, and even the friendships of angels, affords no true joy; since friends are separated by misunderstandings, and angels may be personated by demons. Our final reward is both spiritual and bodily, and is without infelicity. Of this eternal life an essential part is eternal peace. God has granted to men good things adapted to this life under the most equitable condition, that every man that makes good use of these shall receive the peace of immortality, accompanied by glory and honor in an endless life, made fit for the enjoyment of God, and of one another in God; but that he who uses the present blessings badly, should both lose them and should not receive the others. Thus the citizen of

the heavenly city uses the earthly peace and good, temporarily obeying the laws of the earthly city, as a captive in a strange land. In matters of religion, however, the heavenly city can not have laws in common with the earthly city. It calls men out of the earthly city into itself. In the earthly pilgrimage the believer, having perfect peace through faith, is not left to the wretched uncertainty of those of the New Academy. Yet even people alienated from God have a certain peace which is not to be lightly esteemed, though they shall not enjoy it forever ; and we are admonished to pray for the peace of such. The end of the wicked is to inherit eternal misery. The war opposed to the peace of the blessed will be the eternal hostility between the will and the passions.

Book XX. Of the Last Judgment.—We speak of a last judgment, because God is even now and always has been judging. His judgments are unsearchable ; we see the wicked prospering and the good troubled, and learn to hold cheap whatever attaches alike to good and bad.

But at the last judgment we shall see what is now hidden. We prove this judgment both from the New Testament and the Old. Christ teaches it in his words about Bethsaida and Chorazin, in the parable of the wheat and tares, in his promises to the disciples that they should sit on thrones of judgment, and in the last part of the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew. The first resurrection is that of the soul from sin, the second is that of the body. In the second both good and bad have part. After this those not risen in the first resurrection shall be hurled into damnation, which is the second death.

As opposed to the millennarians, who believe in an earthly reign of Christ, we hold that the thousand years in which Satan is bound are the years now passing, he being now under such restraint that

he can not seduce to eternal damnation those nations which belong to Christ. He will be unloosed for a brief time at the end of this age, but the Church will then have gained such power that they can resist.

The thousand years' reign of the saints with Christ is now passing; also the souls of the blessed dead are reigning with him, though not yet united with their bodies. Those are in error who think the first resurrection to be bodily, or that there can be no resurrection of souls. After a final outburst of rage and persecution, the devil will be cast into the lake of fire. One sitting upon the throne shall judge, and the dead, great and small, shall appear before him. By the books of judgment, then to be opened, we are to understand the books of Scripture containing the law; and by "the book of the life of each man," a mental record out of which the conscience of each man shall pass judgment upon him. After death and hell, that is all the evil, are cast into the lake of fire—of whose nature no one knows—this world shall pass away. That there shall be "no more sea," means, perhaps, no more turbulence and restlessness. Then shall come down out of heaven the holy city, where are no tears and no sorrow.

Peter predicts the final judgment, when the heavens and the earth shall be destroyed. Paul, also, in the passage in Thessalonians about Antichrist (2 Thess. ii, 1-11), and in 1 Thess. iv, 13-16, speaks of the same consummation. In the Old Testament, Isaiah, Daniel, Malachi, and the Psalms testify of the resurrection and of the judgment. In this judgment the Sun of Righteousness shall distinguish the righteous from the wicked as they were never before separated. Before this judgment Elias shall come to convert the Jews to Christ by his preaching and explanation of the Scriptures. At,

or in connection with the judgment, then, Elias shall come, the Jews shall believe, Antichrist shall persecute, Christ shall judge, the dead shall rise, the good and the wicked shall be separated, the world shall be burned and renewed ; but how or in what order these events shall occur, the human understanding can not perfectly teach. My opinion is, however, that the above-named order is correct.

Book XXI. Of Eternal Punishment.—To speak now of the nature of the punishment of the devil and all his retainers, we say against objectors that it will be possible for bodies to survive amid the torments of everlasting fires. There are animals like the salamander, which live in the midst of flames. We must remember the curious properties of natural objects, for example, of the loadstone and of charcoal, before we say what *must be* the effects of fire. Indeed, there are human contrivances so marvelous that the uninitiated think they must be divine. How much more able, then, is God to do those things which to skeptics are incredible, but to his power easy, since it is he who has given to stones and all other things their virtue, and to men their skill to use them in wonderful ways ; he who has given to the angels a nature more mighty than that of all that lives on earth ; he whose power surpasses all marvels, and whose wisdom in working, ordaining, and permitting, is no less marvelous in its government of, all things than in its creation of all ! The reason, therefore, which we adduce that bodies may burn everlastingly, is God's unlimited power. Moreover, it is not contrary to nature that the nature of a body should be changed ; for nature is the work of God, and he who has made may change. Our Lord himself, three times over, spoke of the worm as undying, and of hell-fire as unquenchable. Who is not terrified by this repetition ?

Some hold that fire is to torment the bodies, and the worm of anguish the souls, "yet for my part," says Augustine, "I think that Scripture is silent regarding the spiritual pain of the damned, because, though not expressed, it is necessarily understood that in a body thus tormented the soul also is tortured with a fruitless repentance. But as to all this the future will reveal." As to devils, who are spirits, being burned with a material fire, we say that this can and will be effected in some wonderful and ineffable way. For the lake of fire and brimstone assuredly will be material fire. As to the justice of an eternal penalty for a temporal wrong, we reply that human courts account it just, for they inflict the penalty of death, that is eternal banishment from the society of the living, for the crime of a moment. That it seems to any unjust is because they do not rightly appreciate the greatness of the sin of departing from God. The Platonists deem all punishment remedial; but we, while we consider certain punishments after death to be purgatorial, limit such punishments to the period before the judgment. God's mercy is such as to extend to all ages of human life, those in infancy and boyhood being saved by the sacraments alone; those of mature age by the added struggle, with the help of God, against vices. So, subduing the soul to God, one must, to escape eternal punishment, be not only baptized but justified in Christ. No pains after the final judgment will be purgatorial; yet even these eternal torments will be graduated to men's deserts. To consider the various errors of belief on this subject, Origen believed in the restoration and subsequent relapses of even the devils; but the Church condemned this doctrine, for by it is destroyed our fearless assurance of eternal blessedness. "Very different, however, is the error dictated by the tenderness of those Christians who suppose that the

sufferings of those who are condemned in the judgment will be temporary, while the blessedness of all who are sooner or later set free will be eternal : which opinion, if it be good and true because it is merciful, will be so much the better and truer in proportion as it becomes more merciful. Let, then, this fountain of mercy be extended, and flow forth even to the lost angels, and let them also be set free, at least, after as many and as long ages as seem fit ! Why does this stream of mercy flow to all the human race, and dry up as soon as it reaches the angelic ? And yet they dare not extend their pity further, and propose the deliverance of the devil himself. Or, if any one is bold enough to do so, he does indeed put to shame their charity, but is himself convicted of error that is more unsightly, and a wresting of God's truth that is more perverse, in proportion as his clemency of sentiment seems to be greater." Some, again, whose lives are not good, attribute to God a still greater compassion toward men, for, while acknowledging that the wicked are worthy of punishment, they say that God's mercy will give them up to the prayers of the saints. True, this conjecture is not hinted at in Scripture, but this is for the sake of stimulating many to reformation of life through fear of very protracted or eternal sufferings, and of stimulating others to pray for those who have not reformed. There are others, again, who promise deliverance, not indeed to all men, but only to those who have been washed in Christian baptism, and who become partakers of the body of Christ, no matter how they have lived, or what heresy or impiety they have fallen into. Still others assert that not all the baptized, but yet all Catholics, will ultimately be saved, no matter how they have lived. And then some are of the opinion that such only as neglect to cover their sins with alms-deeds shall be punished everlastingly. To an-

swer now those who hold that the devil and wicked men will be saved, the words of Scripture expressly declare that their punishment will be forever, equally with the blessedness of the saints.¹ As to those who hold to the deliverance of all men in answer to the prayers of the saints, we reply that, if this were possible, there is no reason why the Church should not even now pray for the devil and his angels, since God, her master, has ordered her to pray for her enemies. But now she prays only for unbelieving and godless men, who are still alive, because only of them can she have hope that they will be moved to repentance. And her prayers are not answered for all of these. Could she, therefore, know now who among men are predestined to be of the devil's following, she would not now pray for them, but only for those who through her intercession are predestined to become her sons. For some of the dead, indeed, the Church prays, but it is only for those who have been regenerated in Christ.²

As to God's mercy enduring forever, God may exercise it by tempering the punishment of the lost beyond what they deserve. His "hidden sweetness" is not to be thought to extend to the wicked, but to those that hope in Christ.

As to salvation through heretical baptism, the apostle has said, referring to the works of the flesh, including heresies, "They who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." Therefore, those who lead an abandoned life ought not to be confident of salvation, even though of the Catholic communion.

To those who speak of some being saved because they have built upon the true foundation, even though their wood, hay, and stubble are burned away, we say that those only have the sure foundation who have Christ in their hearts, not the externals of the Catholic faith. As for alms-deeds as a

ground of salvation, we say that, if for one crime a man has distributed all his goods to the poor, it can avail him nothing unless he desists from all similar actions, and attains unto that charity which worketh no evil. For, while alms may be availing for the deletion of past sins, they do not warrant impunity in their perpetual commission.

Thus, as to men being forgiven their sins because they have forgiven others according to the Lord's prayer, this refers not to the sins which damn eternally, but to the small and passing sins of those who have turned to the Lord. Lastly, while we allow that the deliverance of some may be effected through their own prayers, or by the intercession of holy men—though for my part I have been unable to discover what sins those are which prevent a man from winning the kingdom of God by himself, but permit him to avail himself of the merits of the saints—this can not secure that, once a man is cast into hell, he should after a time be rescued from it.

Book XXII. Eternal Blessedness, the Resurrection Body, and the Employment of the Saints.—The eternal life is not merely long enduring, but is without end. Its author is God, who created all intelligent beings, giving them free-will. He permitted the recreant angels to choose themselves, deeming it better to bring good out of evil than forcibly to prevent evil. That the creatures were originally good and made to enjoy God is shown in that now, not having God, they are miserable. God made man, notwithstanding that he foresaw his sin; for he purposed to redeem a great multitude, replacing the fallen angels. The wise men of earth have reasoned that bodies can exist nowhere but upon the earth, but is it more wonderful that bodies ascend to heaven than that souls be bound down to earth? In fact, this truth of the resurrection of the flesh,

though once deemed incredible, has now come to be almost universally believed.

If to any this seems now incredible, let them reflect that this universal belief on the testimony of a few fishermen is also incredible. Now both of these incredible things were foretold by the same God before they came to pass; and, since one has already come about, why not the other also? Again, miracles were wrought to attest the resurrection. If skeptics do not believe in these miracles for this purpose, then this one grand miracle suffices us, that the world has come to believe without a miracle. In an age so enlightened as that of Cicero and of the Emperors Augustus and Tiberius, the human mind would have refused to listen to the resurrection of Christ's body and its ascension into heaven, and have scouted it as an impossibility, had not the divinity of the truth itself or the truth of the divinity, and corroborating miraculous signs, proved that it could happen and had happened.

If it is asked why miracles, which we claim led men to believe in Christ, are not wrought to-day, we reply that they are wrought, though they are less numerous and brilliant than formerly. For example, at Hippo-Regius, nearly seventy have been wrought within the past two years in connection with the relics of the martyr Stephen. Two similar cures also, Augustine relates, had recently taken place in his own church.

Many vain and foolish questions are asked in connection with the resurrection body, yet we may entertain some thoughts thereupon. Infants, we may believe, will rise with the mature stature which they had potentially, and the aged and decrepit will be restored to the body of their prime. All parts of the body will also be restored in full integrity, all blemishes being removed. Women as well as men will rise, and will be women, although there

shall be no marrying nor giving in marriage. The substance of our bodies will by divine power be reunited, however disintegrated, and will be restored to its original possessors. But what this spiritual body shall be, and how great its grace, I fear it were but rash to pronounce, seeing that we have as yet no expression of it.

This life of earth, if life it may be called, is a state of condemnation, as is proved by its host of ills. Amid all these the grace of Christ sustains us, but chiefly preserves us from passing into an even worse state which is eternal. The goodness of God has indeed vouchsafed to us countless blessings, vitiated though our natures be. He has not withdrawn from the race its power of propagation.

And then consider the wonderful powers of mind which he has bestowed upon us, and which are displayed in our attainments of wisdom and in the countless astonishing arts which man has invented. What beauty, too, has the human body, only comparable with its utility! And then the loveliness, manifold and various, of sky and earth! Who can enumerate all the blessings we enjoy? And all these are but the solace of the wretched and condemned, not the reward of the blessed. What, then, shall these rewards be, if such be the blessings of a condemned state? In what condition shall the spirit of man be when it has no longer any vice at all; when it neither yields to any, nor is in bondage to any, nor has to make war against any, but is perfected, and enjoys undisturbed peace with itself? What shall the body be when it is in every respect subject to the spirit, from which it shall draw a life so sufficient as to stand in need of no nutriment?

The nature of the employment of the saints when so clothed in their immortal bodies (or shall I say their repose and ease?), passeth all understanding

but God's. We shall, however, see the face of God, by which we are to understand his manifestations. Not as we here see the sun, but in the spirit, so as not perhaps to be dependent upon the bodily eye. Wherever we may direct our spiritual eyes, we may be able to see God in all things. In that state of felicity the body shall be wherever the spirit wills, and the spirit shall will nothing unbecoming the spirit or body. True peace shall be there, where no one shall suffer opposition either from himself or any other. God himself, who is the author of virtue, shall then be its reward. He shall be the end of our desires, who shall be seen without end, loved without cloy, praised without weariness.

There shall be, too, degrees of merit and of reward, and yet no envy. Free-will, which we shall there retain, will be more truly free because free from any inclination toward sin. Our first freedom was freedom to sin or not sin; there we shall be free not to sin. The former condition was adapted to acquiring merit; the latter to enjoying reward. The soul shall then have an intellectual remembrance of past ills, and also a knowledge of the woe of the lost, and shall so be kept mindful of the mercies of God. That shall be the great Sabbath, which has no evening. Then we shall rest and see, see and love, love and praise. This is what shall be in the end without end.

EXTRACTS.

1. On Eternal Punishment.

"First of all, it behooves us to inquire and to recognize why the Church has not been able to tolerate the idea that promises cleansing or indulgence to the devil even after the most severe and protracted punishment. For so many holy men, imbued with the spirit of the Old and New Testa-

ments, did not grudge to angels of any rank or character that they should enjoy the blessedness of the heavenly kingdom after being cleansed by suffering, but rather they perceived that they could not invalidate nor evacuate the divine sentence which the Lord predicted that he would pronounce in the judgment, saying, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.' For here it is evident that the devil and his angels shall burn in everlasting fire. And there is also that declaration in the Apocalypse, 'The devil, their deceiver, was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where also are the beast and the false prophet, and they shall be tormented day and night forever.' In the former passage 'everlasting' is used, in the latter 'forever'; and by these words Scripture is wont to mean nothing else than endless duration. And therefore no other reason, no reason more obvious and just, can be found for holding it as the fixed and immovable belief of the truest piety, that the devil and his angels shall never return to the justice and life of the saints, than that Scripture, which deceives no man, says that God spared them not, and that they were condemned beforehand by him, and cast into prisons of darkness in hell, being reserved to the judgment of the last day, when eternal fire shall receive them, in which they shall be tormented world without end. And, if this be so, how can it be believed that all men, or even some, shall be withdrawn from the endurance of punishment after some time has been spent in it? how can this be believed without enervating our faith in the eternal punishment of the devils? For, if all or some of those to whom it shall be said, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels,' are not to be always in that fire, then what reason is there for believing that the devil and his angels shall always

be there? Or is, perhaps, the sentence of God, which is to be pronounced on wicked men and angels alike, to be true in the case of the angels, false in that of men? Plainly it will be so if the conjectures of men are to weigh more than the word of God. But, because this is absurd, they who desire to be rid of eternal punishment ought to abstain from arguing against God, and rather, while yet there is opportunity, obey the divine commands. Then what a fond fancy is it to suppose that eternal punishment means long-continued punishment, while eternal life means life without end, since Christ in the very same passage spoke of both in similar terms in one and the same sentence, 'These shall go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into life eternal'!

"If both destinies are 'eternal,' then we must either understand both as long continued, but at last terminating, or both endless. For they are correlative—on the one hand, punishment eternal; on the other hand, life eternal.

"And to say in one and the same sense, life eternal shall be endless, punishment eternal shall come to an end, is the height of absurdity. Wherefore, as the eternal life of the saints shall be endless, so, too, the eternal punishment of those who are doomed to it shall have no end."—*Book XXI, chap. 23.*

2. *On Prayers for the Dead.*

"It is, then, I say, the same reason which prevents the Church at any time from praying for the wicked angels, which prevents her from praying hereafter for those men who are to be punished in eternal fire; and this also is the reason why, though she prays even for the wicked so long as they live, she yet does not even in this world pray for the unbelieving and godless who are dead. For some of the dead, indeed, the prayer of the Church or of

pious individuals is heard ; but it is for those who, having been regenerated in Christ, did not spend their lives so wickedly that they can be judged unworthy of such compassion, nor so well that they can be considered to have no need of it. As, also, after the resurrection, there will be some of the dead to whom, after they have endured the pains proper to the spirits of the dead, mercy will be accorded, and acquittal from the punishment of eternal fire. For were there not some whose sins, though not remitted in this life, shall be remitted in that which is to come, it could not be truly said, 'They shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, neither in that which is to come.' But when the Judge of quick and dead has said, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world,' and to those on the other side, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels,' and 'These shall go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life,' it were excessively presumptuous to say that the punishment of any of those whom God has said shall go away into eternal punishment shall not be eternal, and so bring either despair or doubt upon the corresponding promise of life eternal."—*Book xxi, chap. 24.*

LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS.

These were mostly written before Augustine entered the priesthood. One, on the "Fair and Fit," written before his conversion, is not now extant. In the period of retirement between his conversion and his baptism he wrote several works, viz. : 1. In four books, "Against the Academics." These are in the form of dialogues, directed to a friend, whom he advises to the study of philosophy. Dupin says of them that "they are not much in-

ferior to Tully's for style, but much above them for the exactness and solidity of the arguments and notions." In his "Retractions," Augustine criticises them as not savoring enough of Christianity. 2. "Of Felicity" is a dialogue, in which his mother takes part with others. In the course of it, Augustine, having asked whether one is happy if he have what he desires, Monica answers, "He is happy if that which he desires is good"; whereupon Augustine at once replies, "Thou hast taken, O mother, the very citadel of philosophy!" Following out this principle, it is shown that true felicity consists in the knowledge of God, who alone can fill the soul and impart wisdom. In the "Retractions" the author observes that one can not be perfectly happy in this life, since we can know God perfectly only in the other world. 3. Two books, "Of Order," which, after speaking of the providence of God, which allows and makes use of evil, give precepts for the manners and studies of youth. A catalogue of all the sciences is given, together with a short account of the same. All learning, it is declared, is nothing but reason occupied in the consideration of different objects. 4. Two books of "Soliloquies." The first of these books treats of the dispositions of the soul necessary in order to acquire a knowledge of God; and the second, of the immortality of the soul.

Before leaving Milan, Augustine wrote a separate book on the "Immortality of the Soul," and began treatises upon most of the sciences, finishing only that upon grammar. He also began his six books "Of Music," which he finished in Africa. At Rome was written a treatise "Of the Quantity of the Soul," designed to show that the soul is not extended after the manner of bodies, and that of all creatures the soul of man comes nearest to the nature of God.

At a much later period were written four books

"Of the Origin of the Soul," in response to the claims of one Vincentius that the soul of every man is certainly an individual creation.

MORAL AND PRACTICAL WORKS.

A treatise "On the Manner of instructing Catechumens," addressed to a deacon of Carthage, advises that one shall teach cheerfully, adapting his instruction to the characters and capacities of his scholars. The method should be historical, as calculated to awaken interest, the lessons presenting a summary of the principal events in the history of religion, giving preference to the more marvelous. Care must be taken that the hearer may believe what is spoken, hope for what he believes, and love what he hopes for. They should be inspired with a wholesome fear of God's judgments, and kept from all prospect of merely temporal interests in becoming a Christian. "On Belief in Things not seen" shows that many things are believed of which no sense gives testimony. Without such faith human society would be overthrown. True, to believe in a thing we ought to have some evidence of its being, and Christians do not believe in Jesus Christ without sufficient proofs of his authority. The Church alone is proof of the truth of his doctrines; for in it we see the fulfillment of what Christ and the prophets foretold. "Of Faith and Good Works" refutes several practical errors. Not all men are to be admitted to the rite of baptism, but only such as repent and renounce their sins. Nor will all the baptized necessarily be saved, but such as die in mortal sin without repentance will be eternally damned. The discourse "Of a Master" is a dialogue between Augustine and Adeodatus, in which it is maintained that instruction comes to us, not by men's words, but from Jesus Christ the Eternal Truth. "The Combat of the Christian" is a book

of instruction for the unlearned in the precepts and doctrines of Christianity. "Of the Care to be had for the Dead" discusses among others a question which had been addressed to Augustine about prayers for the dead, viz., Why pray, when all shall be judged according to the deeds done in the body? Good actions done in this life, it is answered, make efficacious the aid which may rightfully be expected from the saints, bad actions make such assistance useless. The custom of praying for the dead, moreover, is established by the book of Maccabees, and is now sufficiently authorized by the practice of the Church in the administration of the eucharist. By burying our dead near the tombs of martyrs we may commend them to their care and intercession. Though prayers are availing only for such as during their lifetime deserved them, they are, in our ignorance, offered for all Christians: it is better to offer some superfluous prayers than to be negligent of any in need. "Of the Business of Monks" is a satirical discourse against certain monks who exempt themselves from working, because Christ bade us to take no thought for the morrow. These hypocrites in the monastic habit travel from province to province, preying upon society, until the devil has overspread the world with them. Against all their pious pretenses he urges that "whosoever will not work, neither shall he eat." Besides two small treatises, "On Patience" and "On the Predictions of Demons," there are also some practical treatises on marriage and on virginity, and two upon lying, in which the author maintains that no lie is ever to be told, upon any pretense. We are not to do evil, that good may come.

DOGMATIC WORKS.

Of the city of God we have spoken. We have also two lesser treatises: First, one "Of the Trinity,"

in fifteen books. The first seven books prove from Scripture that three divine persons make one and the same essence. The eighth book shows that the three persons together are not greater than any one alone. The ninth and tenth books point out a trinity in man, who was made in God's image. In him is a spirit, a knowledge of himself, and a love with which he loves himself. These are equal among themselves and make but one essence. Memory, understanding, and will in man, furnish another image of the Trinity. Further resemblances are pointed out in the following books to the fourteenth. The fifteenth book shows that, notwithstanding all these representations, our notions of the Trinity must always remain imperfect in this life. It is a great mystery.

Secondly, the "Enchiridion," or "Treatise of Faith, Hope, and Charity." This is a manual prepared for one Laurentius, a Roman, in which all religion is reduced to these three virtues and all religious instruction is comprehended under these three heads. Under the heading of faith, Augustine dwells upon original sin; the fall of man and of angels; the necessity of a mediator, baptism, and grace; the distinction of venial and mortal sins; the eternity and the inequality of the future punishment; the extent of the will of God to save men; free-will; and the state of souls until the day of judgment.

To these two works should be added a collection of questions and answers upon various points of doctrine and morals.

POLEMICAL WORKS.

This class embraces a large part of Augustine's writings. They are chiefly directed against the Manichæans, the Donatists, and the Pelagians, the only others being a sermon "Against the Jews," a

book "Against the Priscillianists and Origenists," and two small works against the Arians.

A suitable introduction to these writings is the author's treatise "Of Heresies," addressed to the deacon Quodvultdeus. This work is unsatisfactory, in that it promises to define, in a second part, what makes a man a heretic, but after giving a catalogue of eighty-eight heresies from the Simonians to the Pelagians—taken chiefly out of Epiphanius—ends without even attempting such a statement.

Works against the Manichæans.

Manichæism, which had arisen in the third century, was not so much a heresy as a distinct religion in conflict with Christianity. It had exercised a peculiar power over Augustine, by its flattering promise of a solution of all spiritual difficulties by means of a lofty wisdom which it would unfold, instead of claiming the blind belief which it condemned in the Catholic Church.

Its principles were embodied in a certain "Fundamental Epistle" ascribed to its founder Manichæus, who claimed to be the Paraclete. It was fundamentally a system of dualism. The Old Testament was wholly rejected, the New Testament was received only in part.

In its worship the sun and moon were revered as the visible representation of the ideal Good or Supreme. It had neither altar nor sacrifice, and was content with humble places of assembly. Its believers were divided into the Auditors and the Elect, the latter of whom took singularly stringent vows of abstinence. The highest earthly aim of the Auditors was to be admitted to this favored class.

Augustine's first work in opposition to this system was "On the Usefulness of Belief," written to reclaim a friend who had shared with him in his

former errors. After defending the Old Testament as in full accord with the New, he attacks the great principle by which he had himself been ensnared, proving that we must believe before we know, must believe in order to seek after religion. Since now we must repose this preliminary faith somewhere, and since it is the distinction between a wise and a credulous person, that the former must be persuaded that he in whom he believes is worthy of credit, it is right to throw ourselves into the arms of the Catholic Church, which can show its authority to be that of Jesus Christ himself. "Of the Two Souls" was written against the doctrine that there are two souls in man, one naturally good and one evil. Augustine proves that there is no naturally evil substance, and that evil consists only in the abuse of liberty. This book attributed so much to free-will, that the "Retractions" needed to revise it, in order to make it accord with Augustine's doctrines of grace and of original sin. A "Conference with Fortunatus" turns upon the nature of evil, and a treatise "Against Adamantus" upon the concord of the Old and New Testaments. A work "Against the Epistle of Foundation" lays down at first Augustine's reasons for adhering to the Catholic Church. "Among you Manichees," he says, "I hear none but vain promises to make me understand the truth clearly. I confess that, did you perform it, I ought to prefer an evident truth which none can doubt of, before all the motives that make me keep to the Catholic Church. But, so long as you do only promise, and not give this knowledge, you shall not shake that trust in the Catholic Church which is grounded upon such powerful reasons and motives." Afterward the book examines the principles laid down in the Manichæan letter. The most extended work against this error is the treatise "Against Faustus," which is divided into thirty-three dis-

putes or arguments, in which are given the texts of Faustus's books. A "Conference with Felix" is the record of a dispute which had the happy result of bringing Felix to the Catholic faith. "Of Free-Will" contains the following: Supposing an objector to the doctrine of original sin to say, "Though Adam and Eve did sin, what have we done to be abandoned to lust and ignorance?" Augustine replies: "This complaint were just if men were under an impossibility of overcoming their ignorance and lust. But God being present everywhere to call his creature to his service, to teach him what he ought to believe, to comfort him in his hopes, to confirm him in his love, to help his endeavors, and to hear his prayers, man can not complain that he has imputed to him what he is unavoidably ignorant of, but he must rather blame himself if he neglects to seek after that which he knows not. It is not his fault if he can not use his broken members; but he is guilty if he despises the Physician that proffers to cure him. For no one can be ignorant that man may profitably seek for the knowledge of what he knows not, and which he thinks to be necessary; and it is well enough known that men ought humbly to acknowledge their weakness to obtain help. In a word if men do that which is evil out of ignorance, or if it so happens that they can not do the good which they would, there is sin in that; because it is in consequence of the first man's sin, committed with full liberty. This first sin deserved the following."

Other books against the Manichæans are "Upon Genesis against the Manichæans," "Of the Manners of the Church and of the Manichæans," "Of True Religion," all written before Augustine's ordination; "Of Faith and the Creed," an address before a council of bishops; "Of the Nature of Good," and "Against Secundinus."

Works against the Donatists.

The Donatists were only schismatics, not heretics, and, except upon one or two points, the writings against them are of but little interest to modern readers. The separation of this party from the Catholic Church was effected by Donatus and certain other Numidian bishops who were opposed to Cæcilian, Bishop of Carthage (A. D. 311), on the ground that he was ordained by a traditor of the late persecution. In Augustine's day they had become nearly as numerous in North Africa as the Catholics, notwithstanding that Cæcilian had been exonerated by the Church, and they themselves had been condemned by the Councils of Rome and of Arles, and by a decree of the Emperor Constantine. They held that the whole Catholic Church, by defending Cæcilian, had become accessory to crime, and so had ceased to be the true Church. They also charged it upon the Church as a crime, that it had applied to the imperial power to persecute their party. Their main principle was that the essence of the true Church consisted in the purity of all its individual members, rather than in its apostolical foundation and doctrine. This led them to reject as null all baptisms administered outside of their own communion. Besides a popular hymn, composed to teach the unlearned the questions between the Catholics and the Donatists, we have ten more or less considerable works of Augustine against this body. He shows that they are wrong as to the question of facts, Cæcilian having been guiltless of those crimes which had been charged upon him. Chiefly, however, he disputes their right, even if Cæcilian had been guilty, to secede from the apostolic Church. The Church here below is made up of good and bad men, and will be until the day of judgment; sometimes, indeed, the bad will outnumber the good, and it may

be impossible to drive them out. It is, therefore, great rashness to condemn all the churches of the world for the crimes of a few. As to the persecutions, Augustine defends the Church in some cases by disproving the violence charged, and in some by justifying the appeal to the imperial law, and even the use of severity to bring the Donatists back to the faith. He also charges violence and murder upon the Donatist party of Circumcellians. Concerning rebaptism, Augustine shows that, although it was advocated by Cyprian, it was afterward condemned by a council of the whole Church. Baptism, he says, is of two sorts—that administered in the name of the Trinity, and that performed without naming the three persons. The latter, it is true, should be deemed null, but not the former. A conclusive argument against the Donatist position was found in the fact that, schism having occurred within their own body, appeal had been made by them to the emperor, and when they received back any of the schismatics to communion they did it without rebaptism.

Works against the Pelagians.

Among these, "Of Merits and the Remission of Sins" was the first written. It maintains the necessity of infant baptism for the remission of original sin, and the necessity of grace to justify or to make righteous. It also refutes Pelagius's explanation of certain passages of St. Paul concerning original sin. "Of the Spirit and of the Letter" opposes the idea that man may fulfill all the commandments without grace. "Of Nature and Grace" was written against a book of Pelagius maintaining the strength of human nature. "Of the Acts of Pelagius" was written to show that Pelagius had imposed upon the council at Diospolis by professing a doctrine which he had opposed in his writings.

"Of Christ's Grace" and "Of Original Sin" were directed against Cœlestius, who, Augustine claimed, had deceived Pope Zosimus by a fraudulent confession. "Of the Perfection of Righteousness" opposes Cœlestius's teaching that men may by the strength of their own wills live a perfect life. This is not vouchsafed even to the saints by the aid of divine grace; much less can the unaided will give perfection. Of two books "Of Marriage and Concupiscence," the first shows, in answer to certain Pelagian objections, that, though concupiscence is an evil and an effect of sin, the Bible rightly approves marriage, for it makes good use of an evil thing; the second answers certain books of Julian in reply to the first. "Six Books against Julian" is a more elaborate reply to Julian, written after Augustine had seen the full text of his work. The first two books adduce the opinion of the fathers to prove that man is born in sin. The next four books are employed in "defending the faith of these great men, as the gospel itself is defended, against ungodly men and the enemies of religion." The topics particularly treated are original sin, concupiscence, the falsehood as to the virtues of the heathens, and the necessity of baptism and of grace. "Four Books to Boniface" were addressed to this Pope in answer to two Pelagian letters. "Of Grace and Free-Will," written for the monks of Adrumetum, maintains that the beginning, both of faith and of good resolutions is an effect of grace. "Of Correction and Grace" maintains that sinners have no ground of complaint that saving grace is not granted to them, since grace is a free gift. "Of the Predestination of the Saints" and "Of the Gift of Perseverance" were written in answer to letters of Hilary and Prosper, and to aid them in refuting the semi-Pelagian opinions which they were combating. The last work against the Pelagians was a "Second Treatise against Julian."

The doctrines maintained by Augustine in these books are thus summarized by Dupin : " God created the first man in a state of innocence, holiness, and grace. He was subject neither to the necessity of dying, nor to sickness, nor pain, nor the motions of lust, nor ignorance, nor any of the inconveniences of life or the imperfections of nature, which are the consequences and effect of his sin. His free-will was entire, and weakened with nothing. It was perfectly indifferent to do either good or evil, though it could not do good without the help of grace ; but this grace which God afforded him was entirely subjected to his free-will ; it was a help without which he could not do good, but it did not make him do good. Such was the condition of the first man, like that of the angels before their sin. Such would have been the condition of his posterity had he continued in that happy state. But, having offended God by his disobedience, he and all his posterity are become subject unto death, pain, sickness, punishment, and, what is worse, to ignorance and lust—that is to say, to extravagant motions which are within us whether we will or no. Moreover, all his descendants are born in sin ; they all contract the sin which we call original, which makes children the objects of God's wrath, and infallibly damns them, except they are regenerated by baptism. Baptism does, indeed, take away the stain of sin, but it does not remove the punishment and the consequences of sin. Concupiscence, ignorance, inclination to sin, weaknesses, and other punishments, abide still during the whole course of this mortal life. Free-will is not extinguished, but it has not so much strength, and stands in need of powerful assistance to do good. The grace which it needs to act is not only that help without which it could neither will nor do what is good, but also such an assistance as makes it both will and do it

infallibly. This grace is necessary, not barely to accomplish entirely what is good and to continue therein, but it is even necessary to begin faith, for prayer, and for the first motions of conversion. Yet it does not wrest from us our liberty, because we do not keep the commandments, but as far as we are willing. It works this will in us without violence or compulsion ; for God constrains no man to do either good or evil ; but to do good the will must be succored by grace which does not deprive it of its liberty ; and this grace is not granted to merit, but is absolutely free. Since the first man's sin the whole mass of mankind has been corrupt, condemned, and subject to death. God by free grace and mercy takes out of this mass of corruption whom he pleases, leaving the rest in that condition, in accordance with that justice, with which none can find fault—for what is man that he should dispute with God? However, it may be truly said that all men may be saved if they will ; if they be not, they can only accuse their own perverse will whereby they resist the call of God. There are some graces which he does not refuse to reprobates, wherewith they might do good if they would. To some he gives the knowledge of his law, and they despise it ; others he inspires with a desire of being converted, and they reject it ; some he excites to prayer, but they neglect it ; he speaks to the hearts of some, who harden themselves that they may not listen to his voice ; he overcomes the hardness of some for a time, converting them by an effectual grace, who, however, plunge again into vice. In a word, however strong the grace which he gives, yet it may be said in some sense that man may always resist it, though he does not actually resist. God does not grant this grace to all men, not only because he owes it to none, but also because some make themselves unworthy of it. For, to say noth-

ing of children who die before the use of reason, who are either damned by original sin or saved by the grace of baptism, the adults who have not the gift of perseverance have made themselves unworthy of it, either through their own sins, or by the contempt which they have cast upon God's vocation, or by the opposition they have made to inward grace, or, lastly, by falling again into the state of sin from which God delivered them in his mercy. And so no man can either excuse himself or accuse the justice of God, because every one receives what he deserved ; every one is rewarded or punished according to the good or the evil which he has done by his will, which co-operates with the most effectual grace.

"The effect of this grace is to make us love what is good ; it is a pleasure which draws our heart toward good things, and enables us to keep the commandments. . . . Yet it never did and never shall happen that a mere man passed through this life without sin. For this reason the most righteous say daily, 'Lord, forgive us our debts,' that is, our sins. But these are not mortal sins which bereave the soul of righteousness and holiness ; they are venial and daily sins which are indeed against God's law, but do not utterly destroy charity.

"St. Augustine's principles concerning predestination and reprobation agree exactly with his opinions touching grace. Both those decrees, according to him, suppose the foreknowledge of original sin, and of the corruption of the whole mass of mankind. Should God suffer all men to remain thus, none could complain of that severity, seeing they are all guilty and doomed to damnation because of the sin of the first man. But God resolved from all eternity to deliver some whom he had chosen out of pure mercy, without any regard to their future merits ; and from all eternity he prepared for

them that were thus chosen those gifts and graces which are necessary to save them infallibly, and these he bestows upon them in time. All those, therefore, that are of the number of the elect hear the gospel and believe, and persevere in the faith, working by love to the end of their lives. If they chance to wander from the right way, they return and repent of their sins ; and it is certain that they shall all die in the grace of Jesus Christ.

“ Reprobation is not like predestination. God does not positively cast away any man ; he predestinates none to damnation ; he only knows those that are left in that mass of perdition, and are not of the happy number of those whom he will deliver through mercy. These wretched ones are at last condemned either because of original sin, which is not remitted to them—such are the children that die without receiving baptism—or for the sins which by their free-will they have added to their first sin, or because they wanted faith and righteousness, or, lastly, because they did not persevere unto the end.”

LETTERS.

“ If,” says a French writer, “ in the great shipwreck of time, by some misfortune which Providence has prevented, the works of Augustine properly so called had perished, and only his letters had remained, we should still have possessed all of his doctrines, all his genius : the letters of St. Augustine, these are St. Augustine ! ”

Two hundred and seventy-two in number, their topics range from profound philosophy and abstruse theology to the kindly expression of fraternal esteem. We have said of the letters of certain of the Greek fathers that from them might be compiled the history of their age. The letters of Augustine constituted no mean part of the history of his time ; for by them more than by his elaborate

treatises he laid that molding hand upon the thought of the Church which has affected its life and the life of the world to this day. The four brief extracts here given hint at much that he wrote of his own spiritual struggles and aspirations, as the spiritual adviser of others, as a scriptural exegete, and as a theologian.

From Letter to Valerius, asking Delay of Ordination.

"Perhaps your Holiness replies, 'I wish to know what is lacking to fit you for your office.' The things which I lack are so many that I could more easily enumerate the things which I have than those which I desire to have. I may venture to say that I know and unreservedly believe the doctrines pertaining to our salvation. But my difficulty is in the question how I am to use this truth in ministering to the salvation of others, seeking what is profitable not for myself alone, but for many that they may be saved. And perhaps there may be, nay, beyond all question there are, written in the sacred books, counsels, by the knowledge and acceptance of which the man of God may so discharge his duties to the Church in the things of God, or at least so keep a conscience void of offense in the midst of ungodly men, whether living or dying, as to secure that that life, for which alone humble and meek Christian hearts sigh, is not lost. But how can this be done except, as the Lord himself tells us, by asking, seeking, knocking, that is, by praying, reading, and weeping? For this I have by the brethren made request, which in this petition I now renew, that a short time, say till Easter, be granted me by your unfeigned and venerable charity.

"For what shall I answer to the Lord my judge? Shall I say, 'I was not able to acquire the things of which I stood in need, because I was engrossed

wholly with the affairs of the Church'? What if he thus reply: 'Thou wicked servant, if property belonging to the Church (in the collection of the fruits of which great labor is expended) were suffering loss under some oppressor, and it was in thy power to do something in defense of her rights at the bar of an earthly judge, wouldst thou not, leaving the field which I have watered with my blood, go to plead the cause with the consent of all, and even with the urgent commands of some? And if the decision given were against the Church, wouldst thou not, in prosecuting an appeal, go across the sea? And no complaint would be heard summoning thee home from an absence of a year or more, because thy object was to prevent another from taking possession of land required not for the souls but for the bodies of the poor, whose hunger might nevertheless be satisfied in a way much easier and more acceptable to me by my living trees, if these were cultivated with care? Wherefore, then, dost thou allege that thou hadst not time to learn how to cultivate my field?' Tell me, I beseech you, what could I reply? Are you perchance willing that I should say: 'The aged Valerius is to blame; for, believing me to be instructed in all things necessary, he declined, with a determination proportioned to his love for me, to give me permission to learn what I had not acquired'?

"Consider all these things, aged Valerius; consider them, I beseech you, by the goodness and severity of Christ, by his mercy and judgment, by him who has inspired you with such love for me that I dare not displease you even when the advantage of my soul is at stake."—*Letter xxi.*

From Letter to Proba: On the Lord's Prayer.

"To us, therefore, words are necessary, that by them we may be assisted in considering and ob-

serving what we ask, not as means by which we expect that God is to be either informed or moved to compliance. When, therefore, we say, 'Hallowed be thy name,' we admonish ourselves to desire that his name, which is always holy, may be also among men esteemed holy, that is to say, not despised, which is an advantage, not to God, but to men. When we say, 'Thy kingdom come,' which shall certainly come whether we wish it or not, we do by these words stir up our own desire for that kingdom, that it may come to us, and that we may be found worthy to reign in it. When we say, 'Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven,' we pray for ourselves that he would give us the grace of obedience, that his will may be done by us in the same way as it is done in heavenly places by his angels. When we say, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' the word 'this day' signifies for the present time, in which we ask either for that competency of temporal blessings which I have spoken of before ('bread' being used to designate the whole of those blessings, because of its constituting so important a part of them), or the sacrament of believers which is in this present time necessary, but necessary in order to obtain the felicity, not of the present time, but of eternity. When we say, 'Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors,' we remind ourselves both what we should ask and what we should do in order that we may be worthy to receive what we ask. When we say, 'Lead us not into temptation,' we admonish ourselves to seek, that we may not, through being deprived of God's help, be either ensnared to consent or compelled to yield to temptation. When we say, 'Deliver us from evil,' we admonish ourselves to consider that we are not yet enjoying that good estate in which we shall experience no evil. And this petition, which stands last in the Lord's Prayer, is so comprehensive that a

Christian, in whatsoever affliction he be placed, may in using it give utterance to his groans and find vent for his tears—may begin with this petition, go on with it, and with it conclude his prayer. For it was necessary that by the use of these words the things which they signify should be kept before our memory.

“For whatever other words we may say—whether the desire of the person praying go before the words and employ them in order to give definite form to its requests, or come after them and concentrate attention upon them, that it may increase in fervor—if we pray rightly, and as becomes our wants, we say nothing but what is already contained in the Lord’s Prayer.”—*Letter cxxx.*

From Letter to Evodius: On the Spirits in Prison.

“I find, moreover, a difficulty in the reason alleged by those who attempt to give an explanation of this matter. They say that all those who were found in hell when Christ descended thither had never heard the gospel, and that that place of punishment or imprisonment was emptied of all these, because the gospel was not published to the whole world in their lifetime, and they had sufficient excuse for not believing that which had never been proclaimed to them; but that thenceforth men despising the gospel, when it was in all nations fully published and spread abroad, would be inexcusable, and, therefore, after the prison was then emptied, there still remains a just judgment, in which those who are contumacious and unbelieving shall be punished even with eternal fire. Those who hold this opinion do not consider that the same excuse is available for all those who have, even after Christ’s resurrection, departed this life before the gospel came to them. For, even after the Lord

came back from hell, it was not the case that no one was from that time forward permitted to go to hell without having heard the gospel, seeing that multitudes throughout the world died before the proclamation of its tidings came to them, all of whom are entitled to plead the excuse which is alleged to have been taken away from those of whom it is said that, because they had not before heard the gospel, the Lord when he descended into hell proclaimed it to them.

"This objection may, perhaps, be met by saying that those also who, since the Lord's resurrection, had died or are now dying without the gospel having been proclaimed to them, may have heard it or may now hear it where they are, in hell, so that there they may believe what ought to be believed concerning the truth of Christ, and may also have that pardon and salvation which those to whom Christ preached obtained ; for the fact that Christ ascended again from hell is no reason why the report concerning him should have perished from recollection there, for from this earth also he has gone, ascending into heaven, and yet by the publication of his gospel those who believe in him shall be saved ; moreover, he was exalted, and received a name that is above every name, for this end, that in his name every knee should bow, not only of things in heaven and on earth, but also of things under the earth. But, if we accept this opinion, according to which we are warranted in supposing that men who did not believe while they were in life can in hell believe in Christ, who can bear the contradictions both of reason and faith which must follow ? In the first place, if this were true, we should seem to have no reason for mourning over those who have departed from the body without that grace, and there would be no ground for being solicitous and using urgent exhortation that men would accept the grace of

God before they die, lest they should be punished with eternal death. If, again, it be alleged that in hell those only believe to no purpose and in vain who refused to accept here on earth the gospel preached to them, but that believing will profit those who never despised a gospel which they never had it in their power to hear, another still more absurd consequence is involved, namely, that forasmuch as all men shall certainly die, and ought to come to hell wholly free from the guilt of having despised the gospel, since otherwise it can be of no use to them to believe it when they come there, the gospel ought not to be preached on earth—a sentiment not less foolish than profane.

“Wherefore let us most firmly hold that which faith, resting on authority established beyond all question, maintains, that ‘Christ died according to the Scriptures,’ and that ‘he was buried,’ and that ‘he rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures,’ and all other things which have been written concerning him in records fully demonstrated to be true. Among these doctrines we include the doctrine that he was in hell, and having loosed the pains of hell, in which it was impossible for him to be holden, from which also he is, with good ground, believed to have loosed and delivered whom he would, he took again to himself that body which he had left on the cross, and which had been laid in the tomb. These things, I say, let us firmly hold ; but, as to the question propounded by you from the words of the apostle Peter, since you now perceive the difficulties which I find in it, and since other difficulties may possibly be found if the subject be more carefully studied, let us continue to investigate it, whether by applying our own thoughts to the subject, or by asking the opinion of any one whom it may be becoming and possible to consult.”

—*Letter clxiv.*

From Letter to Vitalis: Twelve Articles concerning Grace.

This letter refutes the opinion that the beginning of faith is simply the product of man's will, and explains the difference between law and grace, proving that the grace of Jesus Christ does not consist in natural helps or in external graces. It propounds the following twelve articles, as embodying what is to be believed concerning grace :

1. "We know that before men were born into this world they had no other wherein they did either good or evil. But, descending from Adam according to the flesh, they partake, by their birth, of the poison of that ancient death which he became subject to by his sin ; and that they are not delivered from eternal death except they are regenerated in Jesus Christ through his grace.

2. "We know that the grace of God is not given upon the account of any merit, either to infants or to men that are come to the age of reason.

3. "We know that grace is an assistance afforded for every action to those that have attained to the age of reason.

4. "We know that it is not given to all men, and that those to whom it is given receive it without having deserved it by their works or by their will ; which appears particularly in infants.

5. "We know that it is out of God's mere mercy that it is given to those to whom it is given.

6. "We know that it is by a just judgment of God that it is not given to those to whom it is not given.

7. "We know that we shall all appear before the judgment-seat of Jesus Christ, that every one may receive either reward or punishment, according to what he shall have done in the body ; and not according to what we should have done had we lived longer.

8. "We know that infants shall not receive recompense or punishment, but according to what they shall have done in the body—that is, while they were in the body—that is, according as some have become regenerate, and others not.

9. "We know that eternal happiness is insured to all those that die in Jesus Christ, and that nothing is imputed to them of what they might have done had they been alive.

10. "We know that as many as believe in God believe willingly and by an action of their free-will.

11. "We know that we ought to pray unto God for those that believe not, that they may believe.

12. "We know that, whensoever any of these embrace the faith, we are to give God thanks sincerely and from the bottom of our hearts, as being an effect of his mercy; and that, when we do it, as we are wont to do, we perform a duty incumbent upon us."—*Letter ccxvii.*

WORKS UPON SCRIPTURES, AND SERMONS.

Introductory.

"Of Christian Doctrine" is a work on introduction. The first three books treat of the understanding of the Scriptures, the fourth of expounding them to others. To their right understanding we have need of a pure heart, a good conscience, and faith unfeigned; of knowledge of the original language of the books, and of the various translations, and of information concerning the various objects, such as animals, plants, etc., which are used by Scripture as figures or in the way of comparison. The knowledge of music and numbers, history, mechanics, logic, rhetoric, and other sciences, is thus of great service, provided a right use be made of them. The third book distinguishes and shows how to determine the different senses of

the passage. The homiletical teachings of book four conclude by addressing the preacher, above all, to prepare himself by prayer, and to be sure that his life corresponds with his sermons.

Critical.

The title "Ways of Speaking of the First Seven Books of the Bible," sufficiently indicates the nature of the book of that name.

Commentaries.

Besides an incomplete work upon the first part of Genesis, begun before he was a bishop, and abandoned because he felt incompetent to the task, Augustine wrote twelve books upon Genesis. "Seven Books of Questions" resolve certain difficult inquiries connected with the Pentateuch and the books of Joshua and Judges. "Annotations upon Job" is an incomplete work compiled from notes made by the author upon the margin of a copy of that book.

The chief work of Augustine in this department is his commentary upon the Psalms. A small part of the expositions are in the form of a regular commentary, but most of them are discourses to the people. They are allegorical in character, and the allusions to modern and passing events, as to heresies and schisms, are often far-fetched. "The work," says Dupin, "can not pass for a good commentary upon the Psalms, yet it may be looked upon as a curious collection of Christian and moral notions ; and if it be of no great use for those that inquire after the literal sense of the Scriptures, yet it will prove very profitable to preachers who desire to fit their minds with necessary thoughts and rules to help them to discharge well that part of their ministry." "A Harmony of the Four Gospels" contains four books. The first points out the spe-

cial characteristics of each gospel, and answers those who make it a reproach to Christianity that Christ himself wrote nothing. Books two and three follow the text of Matthew, and compare the other gospels with that. The fourth book examines what is peculiar to those three. A commentary upon the "Sermon on the Mount" contained some passages which the author canceled in his book of "Retractions." Two books of "Questions upon the Gospels of Matthew and Luke" were hasty works, containing some faults of inadvertency. The commentaries upon the Epistles are "An Exposition of several Passages in Romans," written before the author's system was complete; "The Beginning of an Exposition of Romans," a work undertaken on so exhaustive a scale that it could not be completed; and a commentary upon Galatians. To these should be added one hundred and twenty-four homilies upon the gospel of John, and ten homilies upon his first epistle.

Sermons.

Of these we have one hundred and eighty-three upon various passages of Scripture, eighty-eight upon the Church festivals, sixty-nine upon the anniversaries of the saints, and twenty-three upon miscellaneous themes.

PELAGIUS.

THIS *bête noir* of Western orthodoxy seems to have been an amiable and estimable man, a scholar of considerable learning, and a practical and zealous worker for the promoting of purity of Christian life. He was a British monk, born about the mid-

dle of the fourth century, and passing the greater part of his life in monastic retirement, perhaps at Bangor. He is first known to the world about the beginning of the fifth century, when he appears at Rome as the writer of a commentary upon the epistles of St. Paul, in which he attacks received notions concerning human corruption, grace, and free-will, as hurtful to Christian morals. Trained in the ascetic manner, he is pained with the worldliness which is corroding the Church, and seeks to defend human nature, in order to convince men of their responsibility for godly lives. He asserts a genuine freedom of the will, claims that children bring with them into the world no such moral incubus as prevents their choosing God and living holily, and holds that divine grace is needed rather as a coagent with the human will than as the sole originator. He would seem to have antagonized the current doctrines of graces only as he conceived that they destroyed men's sense of responsibility. The ultimate logical consequences of his doctrines, particularly of his denial of innate depravity, he does not appear ever to have followed, for he accepted the common Western doctrine as to the redemptive work of Christ, though adding a belief in the necessity of good works. He had not, like Augustine, a system of truth, but propounded here and there an individual doctrine, which seemed to him necessary to the maintenance of practical piety, regardless of logical inferences.

Upon the fall of Rome (A. D. 410), Pelagius, accompanied by Cœlestius, a follower whom he had now attached to himself, went to North Africa,

where he tried, but unsuccessfully, to meet with Augustine. Thence he went to Palestine, where he was kindly received by the Eastern churches, with whose general doctrinal views he was in close accord. It is said that even Jerome was at first friendly to him. In 415, however, Paul Orosius, coming from North Africa, where, as an admirer of Augustine, he had been interested in the late condemnation of Cœlestius, accused Pelagius of heresy. The first hearing on this charge was before a synod, presided over by John, bishop of Jerusalem, by which body he was acquitted. When Orosius had cited against the accused the authority of the great Augustine, John had replied, "What matters it to me what Augustine says?" A little after he was examined again before a synod at Diospolis, where, by accepting the decrees of the synod at Carthage which had condemned Cœlestius, he was not only acquitted, but received a formal indorsement of his orthodoxy. To counterbalance these decisions, Augustine wrote his "Acts of Pelagius," and the North African bishops addressed three several letters to Pope Innocent, in which they accused Pelagius and Cœlestius of maintaining free-will in such a way as to exclude grace, and of denying the existence of grace as an inward impulse and communication of the Divine Spirit. They were also charged with denying the necessity of baptism in order to the salvation of infants.

In response to these messages, Innocent assured his correspondents of his full acquiescence in their condemnation of the accused. Meantime, Pelagius had himself written to the Pope, claiming that his

opponents were tainted with Manichæan errors; but, before this letter reached him, Innocent was dead. His successor, Zosimus, receiving the letter, accompanied with a confession of faith by Pelagius, and being also influenced by Cœlestius, who was now at Rome, took an opposite position, and wrote to the North African bishops, reproaching them for having given too hasty credit to the charges of mischievous men against Pelagius and Cœlestius. They are, he says, "thoroughly orthodox," and he entreats the bishops, by the authority of his office, to submit their reason to the Bible, as it has been explained by the traditions of the fathers. But the complainants were not to be so easily put down. A council assembled at Carthage addressed a letter to Zosimus, in which he is assured that he has been deceived by the fair words of Cœlestius. Without waiting for the ultimate decision of the matter at Rome, the Africans (A. D. 418) convene at Carthage a council of two hundred and fourteen bishops, in which they adopt nine canons formally condemning the doctrine of Pelagius, which decision they send to the Pope. They also enlist the imperial authorities in the matter, and obtain several edicts against Pelagius and Cœlestius and their adherents. Zosimus also reopens the case, and ultimately condemns the whole movement. Pelagius is banished from Rome, and disappears from public view. It is uncertain whether his last days were spent in Britain or in Palestine.

The extant works of Pelagius are the "Commentary on the Pauline Epistles"; a "Letter to Demetrias," a nun; the "Confession of Faith," sent

to Innocent; and fragments of a treatise on the "Power of Nature and Free-Will." Pelagius was a monk, and believed fully in the superior attainments of those who devoted themselves wholly to the religious life; but he could distinguish clearly between true and false appearances of piety. Writing to Demetrias of real and of mock humility, he says: "Many pursue the shadow of this virtue, few its real substance. It is very easy to wear miserable clothing; to salute one's acquaintance in a lowly manner; to put on the show of humility and meekness by a drooping head and downcast eyes; to speak in a low and feeble voice, so that one's words can scarcely be heard; to sigh frequently, and with every breath call one's self a sinner and a miserable wretch, and, if offended but by a trifling word, suddenly to lift one's brow, throw back the neck, and change those submissive tones into a frantic shout. Flying this feigned humility, do thou seek after that which is true, in which lies hidden no pride."

If his views of truth were less profound than those of his great opponent, and his influence upon the world has been correspondingly smaller, we discern as real aspirations after the welfare of men in Pelagius as in Augustine.

CÆLESTIUS.

MORE actively than Pelagius himself, Cœlestius was the champion of Pelagianism. He was an advocate at Rome, when won to the opinions of his

master, a man of good family, well learned, and not wanting in talents. Carrying his new principles to a greater extent than Pelagius, he threw into their defense and propagation all his zeal and ability as an advocate. When at Carthage, soon after the fall of Rome, he applied for ordination as a presbyter; but Paulinus, a deacon of Milan, appeared as a remonstrant, and before a synod, held in 412, charged him with holding to six heretical propositions, deduced from the opinion that the sin of Adam had injured only himself, not the whole human family. Cœlestius tried to break the force of the charges, by resolving the whole matter into a simple question concerning the propagation of a sinful nature or ultimately of the propagation of souls; but men associating with Augustine were not to be so easily satisfied, and he was therefore excluded from church-fellowship. Going to the East, he obtained ordination at Ephesus, and afterward he made a vain appeal to Atticus, bishop of Constantinople. Later we find him at Rome, appealing to Pope Zosimus, to whom he presents a confession of faith, which sounds to that pontiff so orthodox that he receives him to his communion. Still later, however, this favor was withdrawn, and Cœlestius was condemned with his master.

Some years afterward we learn of him at Constantinople, whence Nestorius wrote letters in his behalf to Pope Cœlestine. Upon a memorial from Marius Mercator, however, he was banished from that city, and was afterward condemned by the Council of Ephesus. His writings were meager, and call for mention only from the passing prominence into which he was raised by this famous controversy.

JULIANUS,

A DEPOSED Pelagian bishop. When the pressure from North Africa and the example of the imperial government led Zosimus to condemn Pelagius and Cœlestius, he addressed a circular letter to all the bishops, requiring them to subscribe to the condemnation under pain of deposition. We have a letter from eighteen bishops who were thus displaced, and who complain to the bishop of Thessalonica of the unjust demand made upon them, to condemn men whom they had not heard in their own defense. This letter was written by Julianus, the deposed bishop of Eclanum. He was a man of scientific knowledge, who unfolded the Pelagian doctrine in systematic form, and, regardless of authorities, and reckless of personal consequences, stoutly maintained his principles. He urged the injustice of the dominant party in the Church, in calling in the secular power, contending, as against Augustine, that the only appeal in such a controversy should be to reason. Being banished from Italy, he went to the East, where he visited Theodore of Mopsuestia. Later he was at Constantinople, where, upon the accession of Nestorius, he found a momentary favor. But he soon shared the fate of Cœlestius, both there and at the Council of Ephesus.

Of his later movements we know nothing certain, save that he was never received into the Church. He is said to have spent his last years in Sicily, and, as a poor compensation for his years of ostra-

cism, to have obtained the following inscription upon his tombstone :

"Here lies in Peace Julian, an Orthodox Bishop."

His extant works are two "Confessions of Faith"; portions of his "Four Books to Turban-tius," against the first of Augustine's books on "Marriage and Concupiscence"; and a considerable part of his "Eight Books against Augustine's Second Book on Marriage and Concupiscence."

MARIUS MERCATOR,

THE doughty adversary of the above-described heretics. He was a layman, and most likely from North Africa. Already, in 418, he had attracted the notice of Augustine by a treatise against the "new heretics," and his efforts were not relaxed until every Pelagian was under the ban, both in the West and in the East. Still, he was not partial in his attentions to this form of heresy. Nestorius, also, as well as Theodore and Theodoret, received his notice; and at the Council of Ephesus he was gladdened by anathemas against all whom he had opposed.

His extant writings are the "Memorial against the Pelagians," already alluded to as presented to the authorities at Constantinople; a second "Memorial against the Pelagians," in which he traces the origin of this heresy to Syrians, and principally to Theodore of Mopsuestia, from whom he says it was carried to Pelagius by Rufinus; a book of

"Observations on the Writings of Julian"; a book "Against Nestorius," which seeks to prove this bishop's agreement with Paul of Samosata; and a treatise "Against Nestorius's Twelve Chapters."

JOHN CASSIAN,

A LEADER of the so-called semi-Pelagians. A native of Scythia, he found his way while still young to the monastery at Bethlehem, where he devoted himself to a spiritual life. Desiring to perfect himself in this way, he traveled, in company with his friend Germanus, to Egypt, where he spent seven years. Returning, according to promise, to Bethlehem, they afterward set out for Scythia, with the intention probably of teaching the people of those parts; but somehow they soon find themselves at Constantinople, where Cassian becomes a deacon of Chrysostom. Upon the banishment of this prelate, Germanus and Cassian are sent by his friends to Pope Innocent with letters in his favor. Cassian does not return to the East, but goes into Gaul, where, at Marseilles, he becomes the founder of two monasteries, one for monks and one for nuns, similar to the institutions in Bethlehem, where he had been trained. Here he spent his remaining years, becoming not only a promoter of the monasticism of Southern Gaul, but also a central figure in that school of Gallic theologians who dissented from the stricter Augustinian views of grace and predestination.

Besides his most famous work, of which we speak more fully, he wrote his "Institutions of Monks," in twelve books; in the first four of which he described the manners of the Egyptian monks, and in the other eight treated of the eight principal vices which tempt men, and how to resist them. Also, at the request of Leo, then Archdeacon of Rome, he wrote in 430 a treatise "Upon the Incarnation, against Nestorius." He died about the year 444.

The Book of Conferences.

This book gives an account of twenty-four conferences of Germanus and Cassian with the most illustrious monks whom they visited in the East, upon various topics of interest. In an interview with the Abbot Isaac, for example, he had told them of an old monk named Serapion, who had always been accustomed, when he prayed, to represent God to himself as having the form of a man. Having at last been convinced of his error by the Abbot Paphnutius, he was on his way to prayers, when, not representing God to himself in bodily shape as before, he suddenly fell to weeping and crying, "O miserable man that I am, they have taken away my God, and now I know not how to pray to him any more!" In another conference with Thomas, the question turns upon the keeping of Lent, and Thomas says that the thirty-six days, not including the Sundays, of the six weeks of Lent, represent the tenth part of the whole year, which is thus tithed unto the Lord. The observance of this season, he said, was not binding upon the perfect, for Lent was known to the primitive Church, but was ordained for those who spend their lives in pleasure, that, being forced by law, they may spend at least a part of their time in the service

of God. But the conference which made the book famous, and gave Cassian his position as leader of the theologians of Southern Gaul, was the thirteenth, containing the discourses of the Abbot Chæremon. Cassian puts into his mouth the following sentiments concerning grace and free-will:

“Grace is the source not only of our good actions, but also of our good thoughts. This grace is always present with us, sometimes going before the beginning of our good desires, and always following them. Free-will is much impaired by the sin of the first man, but is not wholly extinguished. There remain in us still some knowledge of goodness and some seeds of virtue. Grace is given to perfect this knowledge and strengthen these beginnings. Although man can naturally choose good, yet he has need of grace to accomplish it. This grace sometimes goes before the first motions of the will, but most commonly follows them. These two being so closely associated, it is hard for us to know whether God shows us mercy because we have good inclinations in our hearts, or his mercy precedes these motions. It is safest, therefore, to say that sometimes grace inclines the will to good, as it did in the conversion of St. Paul and St. Matthew; but that there are some occasions when it follows it, as happened in the conversion of Zaccheus and the thief on the cross. Man may of himself have a desire to be converted, and so the beginnings of repentance and faith. He may pray, seek a cure, send for the physician, resist temptation; but he can not be cured, can not be just or perfect, can not be a complete conqueror, without grace. This grace, moreover, is a free gift, although God never denies it to those that are laborious themselves. We ought not to think that no good proceeds from man: the good that we do depends partly on grace and partly on free-will.”

These principles called out a sharp response from the Augustinians, notably from Prosper of Aquitaine.

VINCENT OF LERINS,

A RENOWNED champion of the Catholic faith, as against individual teachers. He was a monk, and probably a presbyter belonging to the monastery of the Isle of Lerins, one who after years of stormy life in the world had, as he said, found rest in the Church and in the placid life of that now famous retreat. He belonged to the Gallic, as distinguished from the African, school of theologians, and both directly and indirectly opposed, in their extreme form, the fast predominating doctrines of Augustine.

He is generally supposed to have been the author of certain "Questions concerning the Doctrines of Augustine," which were answered by Prosper. The work which has given him a lasting fame in the Church, however, is his "Commonitorium," or, "Memoir against Heretics." It was published A. D. 434, in the thick of the semi-Pelagian controversy, under the pseudonym of *Peregrinus*. Its ostensible and probably in large part its real object was to point out the distinctive marks of the true faith, as opposed to every form of heresy; but in reading it one is repeatedly made to feel that the "individual doctrine," the influence of "some one great mind," which Vincent so much decries, is neither some supposititious teaching, nor simply the open heresies of men like Pelagius and Nestorius,

whom the author names, but the personal influence of Augustine. At all events, the book has been regarded as a masterly use against Augustine of one of his own principles, namely, that one test of Christian truth is immemorial reception by the Church.

Commonitorium against Heresies.

The author says that he has consulted wise and pious men to find out some certain rule for distinguishing the truth from heresies, and has been pointed to two infallible tests: Truth is always grounded (1) upon the authority of Holy Scripture, and (2) upon the traditions of the Catholic Church. But some one will ask, he says, "Why join the authority of the Church when the Holy Scripture is of itself sufficient?" It is because Scripture has a certain sublime sense, and is variously explained by different persons. Is it not from Scripture that heretics have professed to draw their proofs? This diversity it is which makes necessary a rule of interpretation established by the Church. This rule, which is to be scrupulously followed, is, that we are to believe what has been held everywhere, always, and by every one among the faithful. To speak precisely, that alone is catholic which is generally received. Thus, to be catholic, it is necessary to allow only what can claim antiquity, universality, and unanimity of consent. We shall follow universality if we receive only what the Church approves in all parts of the world. We shall follow antiquity if we do not forsake the opinions of our ancestors. We shall follow unanimous consent if we agree with all or nearly all who have been in the Church. But what shall a Christian do when some part of the Church separates from the communion of the whole body? He must prefer the teachings of the whole Church to those of any sin-

gle member. Should such divergence extend to any considerable part of the Church, then we must turn to antiquity, which can not be corrupted by novelty. If among the ancients we find isolated opinions, we must prefer above them the teachings of the ancient and universal Church.

If some new doctrine arises, to which we find no parallel in history, then we must compare it with the expressed opinions of all the accepted teachers of the Church. These principles were followed by the Church in the times of Donatus and Arius. They had the approval of the holy Ambrose. They were applied by Pope Stephen at the time when Cyprian was astray in the matter of the rebaptism of heretics. But what is thus enforced by the Church is also enjoined by the Scriptures, as witness the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians. And what he said to the Galatians he says to the whole Church—he spake for all ages. It never has been, it never will be, permitted to teach anything to Christians which they have not received from the beginning. How, then, one may ask, if God sometimes permits men of great authority in the Church to announce new dogmas? On this point hearken to Moses. “If,” he says, “there rise up among you a prophet, who claims to have had a vision.” He means by this, a doctor established in dignity in the Church, to whom his disciples defer as if he had a divine revelation—a man of such vast knowledge that his votaries think him possessed, not only of the ordinary human intelligence, but of something infinitely beyond. Such masters urge to follow other gods, and men follow blindly. “But,” says Moses, “thou shalt not hearken to the words of that prophet, or that dreamer.” Such a teacher was Nestorius. In former days greater danger threatened the Church through Origen and Tertulian. Origen was a man not only of wonderful

learning, but also of remarkable piety, such that one might have been tempted to say, "I prefer to be in error with Origen rather than to find the truth under other masters." Nevertheless, he fell away from the simplicity of the faith, and his books are to be accounted dangerous.

Tertullian was to the Latins what Origen was to the Greeks, having transcendent powers for combating errors; yet this did not keep him to the truth, simply because he did not sufficiently regard the Catholic dogma. His last books, therefore, as Hilary has remarked, discredit his earlier ones. Whence I must conclude that he only is truly catholic who loves the truth because it is none other than God's, who loves the Church, who loves the mystic body of Jesus Christ, who puts before all things else religion and the Catholic faith. We should not let the authority of any one man, the attachment we may have for him, beauty, genius, eloquence, science—nothing, in fact, should be allowed to make our hearts waver. God permits these heresies in order to test the faithful. Yet, how unhappy the lot of those in error! It is an ever-fresh source of surprise to me that there are men so given over to perversity that they do not hold to the rules of belief which have been stamped with the seal of antiquity, but, urged by a criminal restlessness, seek to add, to change, to retrench something in religion. As if the dogmas of the faith were not a revelation from Heaven which suffices for salvation! As if these dogmas resembled human institutions, which come to perfection only through continual changes and daily improvements! This, while the voice of St. Paul echoes through the ages, crying, "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, turning away from profane babblings, and opposition of science, falsely so called." In contrast with this, these men say to us: "O you, who vul-

garly call yourselves Catholics, come learn from us the true faith. We are its sole depositaries; no one has comprehended it before us; it has been concealed, wrapped up through several centuries, and by a special privilege it has very recently been revealed to us. But it is necessary to learn it in secret, in the dark, and when you have learned it thus clandestinely, you must teach it with the same precaution, from fear lest the world may hear it, and the Church may come to discover itself; for the favor of knowing such lofty mysteries is reserved to very few persons."

Having examined more closely the above words spoken to Timothy, Vincent concludes by urging that we teach only what has been transmitted to us. Teach with a new light; do not teach what is new: *Cum dicas nove, non dicas nova*. What, then, is it not permitted to make advances in the study of religion? Yes, truly, and the greatest possible. Any one must be the enemy of God and man to deny that this may be, or to call it hurtful. But to advance in the faith, is not to change it; for, that a thing may become perfect, it is necessary that, remaining of the same nature, it receive some increase. On the contrary, that is not so much progress as change, when a thing ceases to be what it was to become something else. Let a holy emulation influence as well the parts as the entire body of the Church; let each age surpass the preceding in its advancement in knowledge, in intelligence, in taste for divine things, without ever swerving from the same sense, the same faith, the same dogmas, with no alteration. We know that our ancestors sowed in the field of the Church the pure wheat of faith. Let us cultivate it; let us preserve in their purity the salutary germs which such a blessed sowing has produced. Let it be permitted to every one to innovate, and religion would fall into utter ruin.

Once one has cut away the Catholic dogma, every one would think himself free to cut away to-day one, to-morrow another. In thus detaching successive portions, the whole edifice must soon crumble. Nothing would be sacred or inviolable in the Church, and the august sanctuary of truth would be only a profane rendezvous, open to every caprice of human passion.

Such is not the Church, the spouse of Jesus Christ. It guards with fidelity the trust which has been confided to it. It neither changes it nor adds to it, nor takes away from it. Watchful to maintain the purity of the faith, it rejects nothing which is essential, introduces nothing which is superfluous, preserves what belongs to it, and admits nothing foreign. Its care is limited to suffering nothing to be lost which it received at its beginning. When the Church has come together in councils, its aim has been to prepare decrees, and to make them of such sort that they may cause that to be believed more strongly which has already been believed, but with greater simplicity; to publish with increased solemnity what was already preached, but with a confidence which had not resulted from examination. From the moment in which heresy discovered itself by impious novelties, the Church has convoked its councils. With what purpose? To clothe anew with a more authentic sanction the truths of the faith which it had received by tradition, and in this way to spread them into all parts of the world, by reducing to short expressions the points of the belief which it explains through the use of new terms which express its substance, but never by introducing new dogmas. Let it be permitted to introduce new dogmas, and what must follow? That all the saints of former ages who were ignorant of them were in error. Could that be—that so many thousands of pontiffs, of confessors, and mar-

tyrs should have been delivered over to error through so many ages?

Heresiarchs have, as a rule, loved novelty. They have, however, masked their errors under a respectable veil of Scripture. But Satan himself dared to make use of Scripture language when he tempted the Lord in the wilderness. Hence we see the need of expounding the doctrines of the canonical books according to the traditions of the Church universal, and according to the rules of the Catholic and apostolic doctrine.

We should thus regard the authority of the ancient fathers. The unanimity of their argument forms a sort of a general council, by which means all that they have decided upon matters of faith becomes the infallible rule, from which it is not permitted to swerve.

Whoever despises those whom God has thus established in his Church as dispensers of the Divine Word, despises not men, but God himself.

PROSPER OF AQUITAINE,

AUGUSTINE's lieutenant. No small element of Augustine's power was in the personal sway which he established over certain loyal souls like this Prosper, who literally found his life by losing it in devotion to his great master. We know little of his life. He was a layman of Aquitaine, who, having taken up his residence in Narbonne, became deeply exercised over the exceptions which the Gallic theologians were taking to Augustine's doctrines of grace. He and his friend Hilary wrote to Augustine, telling him of these criticisms, and asking for further

elucidation of the points in question. In response, he wrote and sent to them his books on "The Predestination of the Saints" and "The Gift of Perseverance." Shortly after this, the great champion of grace died, and his books not having had their desired effect upon his critics, his loyal followers appealed to Pope Coelestine. The response was unsatisfactory, and Prosper girded himself to the task of combating the presumptuous opposition to his oracle. And right valiantly did he defend his cause. Not so great a man as Cassian, his chief opponent, he made up any personal lack by his implicit identification of himself with Augustine. Yet he was himself no mean champion of the doctrines of grace. Never flinching from any position which his leader had taken, he yet had skill to divert the blows of opponents from the most vulnerable points of the Augustinian doctrine. To him and to one uncertain writer must be attributed the success with which this system weathered the semi-Pelagian storm in the decades immediately following Augustine's death.

It has been claimed for Prosper that, as secretary of Pope Leo, he was the author of that prelate's theological letters; but it is not at all certain that he ever resided at Rome, much less that he was the soul of Leo's Eutychian decrees. His death occurred about the year 456.

The works in which he carried on the Augustinian controversy may be noticed the more hastily, from the large space already given to the doctrines which he maintained. One writing, a "Letter to Rufinus," antedates Augustine's death. An impor-

tant work was the book "Against the Collator," as Prosper termed his answer to Cassian's thirteenth conference. Next in prominence among his opponents was Vincent of Lerins, whose "Questions" he answers in categorical form. He wrote also "Answers" to fifteen other objections, whose author is unknown, and to certain criticisms of two monks of Geneva upon the books of "Predestination" and "Perseverance." Besides some minor writings taken from Augustine, or tributary to him, we have a commentary on the last fifty Psalms, which was only an abridgment and paraphrase of the work of the great bishop. A "Chronicon" completes the list of our author's extant works, with the exception of the following, reserved for special notice :

The Poem, "Of the Ungrateful."

It was in this hexameter of four books that Prosper made his chief defense of the doctrines of grace. It is a theological treatise, pure and simple, taking metrical form only the better to impress its tenets upon an age fast degenerating in learning and taste.

A French critic, in a somewhat non-committal mood, has said of it: "We are surprised that this saint has been able to unite the beauty of versification with the thorns of his subject, and that exactness of dogma is so uniformly maintained in spite of the constraint of verse and the freedom of the poetic spirit. The truths are here portrayed with the ornaments natural to poetry—that is to say, with a boldness equally agreeable and ingenious." A more frank writer says that "neither the conviction of truth nor the enthusiasm which pervades them can overcome the irredeemable dullness of

these four books." Yet the work is not destitute of traces of beauty, as witness the following tribute to Augustine. Speaking of a church council in Africa, Prosper says :

"What other end could such a holy council contemplate, having Aurelius for its president, and for its soul Augustine, whom the grace of Christ, overflowing from abundant horn, has given to be the light of our age, sprung from the true light? For to him God is food and life and blessedness, and his whole and sole joy is the love of Christ; only in honor to Christ is he honored. Yea, when no good falls to him, he finds all things in God, and knowledge becomes regnant in his holy temple."

The Author of "De Vocatione Gentium."

This book, in the mystery of its authorship, the "Letters of Junius" of the patristic literature, was in its spirit and its influence the converse of those famous epistles. Put forth in the midst of the semi-Pelagian discussion, and in the interest of the Augustinian doctrines, it yet met the opposite party in such a conciliatory spirit, or, rather, so avoided anything like partisan views, while at the same time reasoning with clearness and force, that it did much toward tempering the controversy. The two principal authors to which it has been assigned are Prosper and Pope Leo, but the claims of neither of these have been established. A pleasant guess is that it was written by that little-known Hilary, friend of Prosper, who joined with him in writing to Augustine, but it is only a conjecture.

The author begins by saying that there is a great and difficult question, now for a long time agitated between the patrons of free-will and the preachers of grace, viz., Whether God wills that all men should be saved? And because that can not be denied, he says, it is further demanded, Why the

will of the Almighty is not always accomplished? If it be said that it depends upon the will of man, this seems to exclude grace, which is no more a free gift but a debt, being bestowed according to merit. It is also asked, Why that gift, without which no man can be saved, is not given to all by him who desires the salvation of all men? The object of this book is so to discuss these questions as to show that there is entire harmony between the doctrines of free-will and of grace. While no really new element was introduced into the discussion, the author brought out with greater clearness the distinction between the two kinds of grace—general, given to all men to lead them to a knowledge of God; and special, given only to the elect.

SALVIAN,

THE Jeremiah of the fall of the Western Empire. He was a priest of Marseilles, and was styled "Master of Bishops" by his contemporaries. We know little of his life, but have reason to think that he died at an advanced age, near the close of the fifth century. Enthusiastic critics have ranked him for the beauty of his style almost equal to the writers of the Augustan age, and even sober judges greatly admire the force and beauty of many of his pages. We have from his pen eight letters, one of them addressed to his father-in-law at the time of the consecration of himself and his wife to a religious life. Of his two important extant works, one is entitled "Four Books to the Catholic Church." It contains a satire against rich and covetous men, and precepts upon the duty of alms-giving. It be-

wails the general corruption of Christians in contrast with the blessed times of the primitive Church.

His counsels as to alms-giving and the use of money remind us much of the writings of Basil. But the work by which he should be known to all who would understand the ecclesiastical life of the fifth century is his "Eight Books of the Providence of God," written about A. D. 440. The manner in which it bewails the sins of the Roman world, and shows that all the calamities then befalling it were the just and inevitable penalty of this corruption, reminds one of nothing so much as of the wailings and denunciations of the weeping prophet. The following is an abstract of its six-score pages :

Of the Providence of God.

Book I. God is now accused of indifference to the affairs of men. He came not, men say, to protect virtue, not to punish vice. To disprove this, I might well cite Scripture to Christians, but, since some even of these are incredulous, I may cite the pagan sages. They held that God did preside over and direct all things. Only the Epicureans denied this. But now, before answering these complainants, let me ask if they speak in the name of true Christians, or of those who wear the mask of faith? True Christians do not need to be commiserated over their adversities. They are content to suffer; it is the wicked only whose sole content is in culpable joys. The ancient Romans were indeed poor, but they were rich in that they enriched the republic. If pagans had thus a contempt for riches, and regarded miseries as no real evil, much more should Christians who have given them the sustaining grace of God. A libertine not long since based his charge of God's indifference upon the fact that

a certain Christian who had professed his belief in such providence, was very infirm. But Christians despise the body, and to them bodily infirmity is a token of God's love. For as the body languishes the soul is made strong. Greater miseries, indeed, are said to be borne by good people. Yes, but God is none the less caring for them. God, the judge of all, is also the present governor over all. The impious will admit that God originally created all things, but say that he has now given over care for them. Such an admission would destroy all religion. Why, if that were so, are we bidden of the apostle to pray for things which make for a quiet life here, and not solely for future blessings? Rather did the whole course of history, from Adam to Moses, prove the contrary.

Book II. God, they say, may once have exercised such providential care, but he does not now. Nay, he is the giver of every good gift to us to-day, as much of our harvests as of the manna of old. He is everywhere present to hear and answer our prayers. He sees both the good to bless them, and the bad to destroy them. Doubt not, then, ye who have the light of faith. Scripture proves to us a particular providence and a universal care of God. Would he, indeed, urge his constant presence with men if he were indifferent to our affairs? Remember his dealings with David, how strictly the sinning monarch was held accountable! Thus we have set forth that God cares for men, governs them, and judges them.

Book III. But why, says the objector, are these barbarians happier than we? God wills it so. I simply submit, for it were sacrilege to question further. Yet I may answer the question of some, Why God sends upon them who have faith greater misfortunes than upon those who do not believe? Let us grant for the present the assertion that the reli-

gious ought to be especially blessed. But, I ask, what is true faith? Is it anything else than a faithful observance of the commands of God? Great lords who have entrusted their treasure to servants, consider them faithless if they have wasted their goods. And we ought to be considered faithless when we make ill use of the blessings which God has bestowed upon us. Such blessings are the fundamentals of our faith. Such are the vocation to Christianity, the law, the prophets, the gospel, the apostolic writings, the gift of regeneration, baptism, the holy sanction of chrism. Such are the treasures of which we are the depositaries. Who now is faithful to the trust thus committed to us? The very Church which should be the body to appease the anger of God, alas! what reigns there but disorders calculated to incense the Most High? It is more common to meet with Christians who are guilty of the greatest abominations than with those who are wholly exempt from crime. So that to-day it is a sort of sanctity among us to be less vicious than the generality of Christians. We insult the majesty of the Most High at the foot of his altars. Men the most steeped in crime enter the holy places without respect for them. True, all men ought to pay their vows to God, but why should they seek his temples to propitiate him, only to go forth and provoke him? Why enter the church to deplore their former sins, and upon going forth—what do I say?—in those very courts they commit fresh sins, their mouths and their hearts contradicting one another. Their prayers are criminal meditations rather than vows of expiation. Scarcely is the service ended before each returns to his old practices. Some go to their wine, others to their impurities, still others to robbery and brigandage, so that we can not doubt that these things had been occupying them while they

were in church. Nor is it the lowest of people who are thus guilty. There is no rank whatever in the Church which does not commit all sorts of crimes.

Book IV. Let us not, then, be astonished that God smites us. He is rather merciful in not destroying us. He has permitted us to suffer because we have deserved to suffer, and to deny his providence is to be as the fool who denies his existence.

It may be urged that we are at heart better than the barbarians who oppose us. Suppose this to be granted; we ought to be better than they. But, as a matter of fact, they are more virtuous than we. The mass of Christians are below the barbarians in probity. True, all kinds of sins are found among them; but what one is not found among us? The several nations have their peculiar sins: the Saxons are cruel; the Franks perfidious; the Gepidæ inhuman; the Huns lewd. But we, having the law of God to restrain us, are given over to all these offenses. Then, to confine ourselves to the single sin of swearing, can many be found among the faithful who have not the name of Jesus Christ constantly upon their lips in support of their perjuries? This practice, coming down from the higher to the lower classes, has so prevailed, that Christians might be deemed pagans. This, although the law of God expressly forbids to take his name in vain. We read this law, but we do not practice it; as a consequence, the pagans taunt us that we boast ourselves the sole possessors of God's law, and of the rules of truth and of science, but yet act wholly contrary to what that law enjoins. "Christians, indeed, to the shame of Jesus Christ," they say.

Book V. It is urged that the heretical barbarians (Arian Christians) have the same law and gospel with ourselves, and their sin is therefore greater than ours. We must remember, I reply, that they

have been falsely instructed as to the interpretation of the truth. They act in good faith according to their ideas of what is true and right. We, on the contrary, depart from known truth, and so merit our punishments. God could not leave us unpunished without injustice. Nor must all these reproaches be brought against people of the world alone. Clergymen here share in the passions and faults of seculars, and the practices of the age are seen to predominate equally among the religious.

Book VI. This book charges upon the Christians of the empire the sins of the amphitheatres, which are unknown to the barbarians, and, indulging in which, Christians apostatize. We rush from the churches to the theatres, even in the midst of our perils. In Carthage the theatres were thronged while the enemy were before the walls, and the cries of those perishing outside under the sword mingled with the shouts of the spectators in the circus. Nor are we better here in Gaul. Treves has been taken four times, and has only increased in wickedness under her misfortunes. The same state of things exists in Cologne—deplorable wickedness among young and old, low and high. The smaller cities have been blind and insensible to the dangers threatening, until they have overwhelmed them. It seems to be the destiny of the Roman Empire to perish, rather than reform; they must cease to be, in order to cease to be vicious. A part of the inhabitants of Treves, having escaped from the ruins, petitions the emperor for—what? A theatre, spectacles, public shows! A city, which thrice overthrown could not correct itself, well deserved to suffer a fourth destruction.

Book VII. The whole empire is in trouble, and the only stable thing among us is our vices. A fatal enchantment seems to have blinded us. The Gallic provinces are corrupt and suffering. Spain

shares the same evils. It seems a special providence that God has delivered that impure country over to the hands of the chaste Vandals, though they were a far less powerful people than many others. He would thereby teach us that it is not human forces which are triumphing over us, but his invisible hand.

Yet upon some passing success we boast ourselves of our own strength, instead of attributing it to God. In this, the Goths and Vandals should be examples to us. They trust in God; we in ourselves. They conquer; we are overthrown. If reports are true, the Gothic king, clothed in hair-cloth, spent several days in prayer before beginning the war. The Vandals, too, showed a like dependence upon the Lord when they overcame the Romans in Spain.

The advance of the enemy from province to province was slow, as if to warn those beyond to repent; but this goodness of God was useless—there was no improvement. Hence the wrath of God, after making itself felt upon Europe, has brought a people from the most distant provinces to ravage Africa. The Vandals are not forced to this invasion by any outward circumstances, but were led forward, as they themselves confessed, by some invisible impulse. The crimes of the Africans had compelled this visitation at the hands of the Lord. Carthage, the Rome of Africa, abounding in dignitaries, having officers and judges in every quarter and on every street, was yet given over to unspeakable corruptions.

The vice was open and was tolerated by all, even if all did not actually share in it. In the other cities of Africa, too, only debauchery and impurity were seen. The Vandals who were brought against them were a chaste people, and they have labored to purge Africa of its debaucheries, to this

end making rigorous laws, conformable to the laws of God.

Would that I might make my voice heard by all Romans! I would cry, Let us all blush that to-day the only cities where impurity does not reign are those which have submitted to the barbarians. Think not, then, that they conquer and we yield by the simple force of nature. Rather let us admit that we succumb through the dissoluteness of our morals; of which our calamities are the just punishment.

Book VIII. This last book combats a superstition peculiar to the African people in their adoration of a celestial goddess, for whom they had a reverence equal to that given to Jesus Christ.

HILARY OF ARLES.

THOUGH not distinguished for his writings, this man obtains remembrance for his holy and useful life, and for his assertion of his metropolitan rights as against Pope Leo. Of noble family, he gave his wealth to the poor, and retired to the Isle of Lerins. Succeeding to the bishopric of Arles, which claimed to be not only the metropolitan see of the province of Vienne, but also an exarchate over the seven provinces of Narbonne, he discharged the duties of his office with great zeal and piety, preaching the gospel, caring for the poor, and reforming abuses among the clergy. Speaking of his discourses, a poet of his time said that they were of such a character that, if Augustine had lived after Hilary, he would have been accounted inferior to him. His

hearers were moved to tears—confounded by the judgments of God, or melted by the promises of the gospel, the church being filled with sobs and cries. “Who ever,” says a biographer, “better displayed the rigor of God’s judgments? Who ever made sinners more sensible of the enormities of their crimes? After his exhortation was ended, he received the first supplication with tears, and confirmed by prayer the fruit of repentance stirred up by his exhortations. He cast out devils from the bodies of such as were possessed, by making them renounce their sins in public. When he saw his people go out of the church after the gospel was read, he kept them back by saying to them, ‘You may easily go out from hence, but you can not go out from hell.’” A peculiarity of his preaching should be noted, which will hardly be approved by modern church-goers: he was accustomed always to preach until some sign was made to him by his attendants to stop.

In the course of his visitations he found it necessary to depose a certain bishop, who immediately carried his complaint to Rome. Hilary at once followed, and represented the case aright to the Pope; but, finding Leo in a critical attitude toward him, he returned to Gaul. In spite of his conciliatory efforts, Leo decreed his deposition from the primacy in Gaul, and from metropolitan rank, forbade him to ordain, and even declared him fallen away from the communion of Rome. Notwithstanding this pronouncement, and an imperial edict in favor of Leo, Hilary seems to have continued quietly in his episcopal work until his death, which

occurred A. D. 454. In the course of this controversy, a noteworthy sentence was written to Hilary by the prefect of Rome, whom he had induced to see Leo in his behalf. "I have spoken of your business," he says, "to Pope Leo. I do not believe but that you may think some part of the world to be governed by pride, but men do not easily endure that others should speak their opinions of them freely. Besides, *Roman ears are very sensitive*, and will not suffer what does not please them."

Hilary's extant writings are, a life of Honoratus, his predecessor in the bishopric, a poem on Geneva, and a letter. In doctrine he was a semi-Pelagian. His life was written by Honoratus, bishop of Marseilles.

OTHER WRITERS BEFORE LEO.

FOLLOWING are noticed all of the other prose writers, down to the time of Leo, who are worthy of mention:

Hosius, bishop of Cordova, is chiefly remembered as the president of the Council of Nice. He had been a personal friend of Constantius in the West, and accompanied him to the East. He was a friend and for a long time a defender of Athanasius, in whose interest he wrote to Constantius a notable letter, now extant. Later the old man was induced by persecutions to sign an Arian creed, though he would not approve the condemnation of Athanasius. Whatever induced him to yield to a teaching which he had always opposed, we may be

certain that it was no cowardly personal fear when we read this extract from his letter: "Change your course, I conjure you," he says to the emperor. "Remember that Nature has made you a mortal man. Fear the day of judgment; do not risk coming to that terrible day with a sullied conscience. . . . It is written, 'Render to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and to God that which is God's.' The same law which interdicts to us an earthly domination does not permit you to usurp the rights of the priesthood."

Julius Firmicus Maternus, of whose life we know nothing, wrote an apologetical book "Of the Errors of Profane Religions," which he addressed to the Emperors Constantius and Constans.

Lucifer, bishop of Calcaris, in Sardinia, was a stanch defender of the cause of Athanasius against the Arians, and in this interest wrote five books against Constantius, which are now extant. His zeal against the Arians, strengthened, doubtless, by the severe persecutions which he suffered at their hands, made him unwilling to commune with those who had any complicity with their heresy, and led him into a schism from the Church. His followers are known as Luciferians.

Pacian, bishop of Barcelona, died about A. D. 380. His extant works consist of three letters against the Novatians, an "Exhortation to Repentance," and a "Treatise of Baptism." They are prized for the explicitness with which they speak of the efficacy of the sacraments, and for their loyalty to the Catholic Church, as against all sects.

Phatadius, bishop of Agen, in Aquitaine, wrote

a treatise "Against the Second Creed of Sirmium."

Optatus, bishop of Milevis, in Numidia, wrote, about A. D. 370, six books "Against the Donatists," which are still greatly prized by all who regard separation from the established Church as a sin equal to a departure from the true faith.

Eusebius, of Vercelle, was one of the Western bishops who suffered exile for his defense of Athanasius and his cause. We have from his pen several letters relating to the persecution.

Faustinus, a Luciferian priest, wrote seven books "Against the Arians and the Macedonians," and also a petition to the Emperor Theodosius in behalf of his sect, which, he alleged, was being unjustly persecuted.

Philastrius, bishop of Brescia, who died about A. D. 387, wrote a "Treatise of Heresies," the only noteworthy feature of which was the great number of heresies—about one hundred and fifty—which it recorded.

Zeno, bishop of Verona, who flourished about A. D. 362, was the author of above a hundred homilies, now extant, in which are found some excellent passages.

Vigilius, bishop of Trent, left a letter, or small book, in commendation of the martyrs who suffered in his time at the hands of the barbarians. He himself became a martyr about A. D. 400.

Diadochus, a bishop of Epirus, wrote a book of one hundred chapters "On the Spiritual Life." They have reference chiefly to ascetical exercises.

Chromatius, bishop of Aquileia, one of the three

Western bishops to whom Chrysostom sent a letter asking for help in his adversities, and whom Jerome called the most holy and learned bishop of his time, has given us a discourse upon parts of the Sermon on the Mount, probably the fragments of a commentary upon the Gospel of Matthew.

Gaudentius, bishop of Brescia, was the author of a number of extant sermons and of a "Life of Philastrius," his predecessor. Ten of the sermons were preached at the Easter season, and for the instruction of the newly baptized.

Bacharius, a Christian philosopher, who lived a wandering life, wrote an extant letter upon the penance of a monk.

Tichonius, a Donatist, made a book upon the "Seven Rules for expounding Scripture." We have it entire, and also an abridgment of it by St. Augustine.

Leporius was a monk, who, having been convinced of Pelagian and Nestorian errors, wrote a book in retraction of the same.

Possidius and *Uranus* have obtained mention among ecclesiastical writers as authors respectively of lives of St. Augustine and St. Paulinus.

Anianus, a Pelagian, is known as the translator of a number of Chrysostom's homilies.

Capreolus, bishop of Carthage, has given us a small treatise "On the Incarnation."

Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, was the author of two little treatises, "In Praise of Solitude" and "On Contempt of the World," which have been highly commended for their style. Erasmus calls the second one of the most elegant pieces of an-

tiquity. He wrote also a treatise "Of Spiritual Forms" and two "Books of Instruction," one of which is suggestive of our modern works on biblical cyclopædia.

Peter, bishop of Ravenna, surnamed Chrysologus for his reputed eloquence, *Maximus*, bishop of Turin, and *Valerian*, bishop of Cemele, may be grouped together as authors of sermons which have reached us.

To *Victor*, bishop of Cartenna, are ascribed two treatises, "On Repentance" and "Of Comfort in Adversity."

Fastidius Priscus, a British author, wrote a book, "Of the Christian Life," which is described as having "more piety and plainness than elegance and loftiness."

Constantius, a priest of Lyons, wrote the life of St. Germanus.

Paul, a priest of Pannonia, was the author of certain works of an ascetic nature.

An author, known as *Amobius Junior*, to distinguish him from the apologist, but of whom we know nothing save that he was in accord with the Gallic theologians as opposed to the followers of Augustine, has left us a brief commentary on the Psalms, in which it is said that grace does not expel freedom, but that we may request, pray, knock at the gate for it, and God will not deny his grace to those who do this.

We have also letters, one or more, from each of the Popes of this period, from *Innocent* and *Zosimus* a considerable number.

LEO THE GREAT.

No one disputes this title, for he was not only the greatest man of his day, but also one of the greatest in the patristic Church. Born in the last decade of the fourth century, probably at Rome, he witnessed the downfall of the imperial power in the West, and its real, though not yet nominal, transfer to barbarian and ecclesiastical hands. Our first glimpse of him is as an acolyte, sent with a papal message into Africa. From 422 to 432 he was archdeacon at Rome, under Pope Coelestius. In the last days of Pope Sixtus, he was sent into Gaul on an embassy for reconciling two imperial generals, and from there he was recalled, in the year 440, to take the vacant papal chair. Seldom has papal or imperial throne been in greater need of a man than was now the episcopal chair of Rome. For a generation longer the empire was to endure; but it was already powerless to protect its subjects, and the only barrier against barbarian ravages in Italy was the slight reverence of the barbarians for religion. In the chief representative of this august power, therefore, there was wanted that old Roman spirit of patriotism, as well as the Christian spirit of self-denial. The man for the crisis was Leo. History presents no nobler picture than that of his meeting with Attila the Hun. The "Scourge of God" had swept across Europe; repulsed but not destroyed at Châlons, he had turned to Italy, and was now descending upon Rome. The Goths were Romans when compared with these dreaded pa-

gans; and the sack of the city by Alaric was likely to be remembered with pleasure, compared with the utter and awful destruction which now threatened. The senate in its extremity deputed Leo to visit and if possible turn back the conqueror. How, we know not, but whether, as tradition says, he was so wonderfully impressed with the majestic appearance of the pontiff, or whether the sickness of his soldiers warned him of disaster, Attila was induced to turn back, and the success of his mission confirmed to Leo his rising power. Again, when Genseric was approaching Rome, Leo went out to meet him, and, though he could not avert the fall of the city, he is said to have secured important immunities for the citizens. To these public acts, it may be said, there is no word of reference in Leo's many letters, which confine themselves strictly to the affairs of the Church. In our account of these letters, we have alluded to many of the important events of his career. We may refer, however, to his zeal against the Manichæans, many of whom, upon the conquest of Africa, had fled from Carthage to Rome. Leo had them searched out from their hiding-places, examined into their beliefs and their alleged nefarious practices, and used all his power for their suppression. Besides his voluminous correspondence upon the Eutychian matter, he convened a council at Rome after the "robber council" at Ephesus, which declared that the emperor's council had depraved the purity of the faith and the discipline of the Church, and that all its acts were void. The action of Leo which has received the most serious and probably the best-

merited criticism was that in connection with Hilary of Arles. Important interests of the whole Church were at stake, when the narrow-minded Eastern monks were endeavoring to pervert the ancient faith, and, remembering this fact, no one deprecates the self-assertion of the bishop of Rome toward the emperor and the Eastern Church in order to obtain the utterance of Chalcedon. No one can justly condemn his firm government of the churches of Italy, which were immediately responsible to him. But when he not only excommunicated the holy Hilary, exarch of a distant province, for a seemingly slight cause, but even used his power over a weak sovereign to obtain an imperial rescript declaring him sovereign in ecclesiastical matters, and enforcing obedience to his decisions by the secular power, then he seems to have abused the high station and the great influence with which he had been intrusted.

But even this action will be approved by those who admit Leo's theories as to the papal power. For he held that Peter was not simply *primus inter pares* among the apostles, but that, instead, he held a kind of mediatorial position between them and Christ. Since, as the bishop of Rome, he was Peter's successor, he deemed himself the channel of grace not merely to his own diocese, but to the whole Church. Whoever, therefore, withdrew, or was cut off from him, was estranged from the true Church.

The extant works of Leo are a large collection of letters and of sermons. His death occurred A. D. 461.

LETTERS.

Leo's letters, one hundred and seventy in number, may be grouped into four classes: 1. Doctrinal. 2. Concerning the papal prerogative. 3. Disciplinary. 4. Miscellaneous. The doctrinal letters relate chiefly to the Eutychian controversy, though one, the fifteenth, is devoted to the Priscillianists. The end of all the Eutychian correspondence is to secure the adoption by the Council of Chalcedon and throughout the East of the doctrine of the incarnation set forth in his famous twenty-fourth letter! The correspondence in regard to the papal prerogative grew out of the twenty-eighth canon of the Council of Chalcedon, which granted to the church of the city of Constantinople, which is called New Rome, the same privilege with that of old Rome (which was, however, to retain the primacy), because the *former city is the second city in the world*; and also gave to the Church jurisdiction over Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, and over the churches outside of the empire—that is, over all the world not included within the patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and the newly constituted patriarchate of Jerusalem. The wide jurisdiction thus given the patriarch of New Rome was far less objectionable to Leo than the reason upon which it was based. The second city of the world, New Rome might be; but there was but one Peter, and the Church which derived its supremacy from him could not, upon claims of imperial rank, share its dignity. The papal delegates had refused assent to this act, and Leo, upon hearing of it, at once wrote in remonstrance to the Emperor Marcian, the Empress Pulcheria, and Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople. He tells Marcian that he is willing that the city of Constantinople should be equal to Rome, but it must not be so, he says, with churches.

There is no solid foundation for the Church but that rock which Jesus Christ has laid. Anatolius can not prove that his church is an apostolic see. The privileges of churches can not be overthrown, being established by the canons of the fathers, and fixed by the decrees of the Council of Nice. He is obliged by his office to see these canons executed, and would be blameworthy should he suffer them to be broken. He exhorts Marcian to use his counsels, and, if need be, his authority, to prevent Anatolius from encroaching upon the rights of other bishops. He informs the empress that he cancels and makes void, by the authority of St. Peter, all the constitutions which are contrary to the laws established by the Council of Nice. He commends Anatolius for his faith, but condemns him for his ambition. He has broken, he says, the decrees of the Council of Nice in presuming to ordain the bishop of Antioch; for he had thereby robbed the churches of Alexandria and Antioch of the second and third places respectively accorded to them by that council. He must not think to elevate himself on the authority of any pretended constitutions of the bishops made sixty years ago [at the Council of Constantinople], but never sent to the Holy See, and never yet executed. Finally, Leo forbids Anatolius to disturb the metropolitans in their ancient rights, and declares his intention that the churches of Alexandria and Antioch shall remain in possession of their ancient order. Many letters passed upon this theme, and with the result that Anatolius at last waived the rights accorded to his see at Chalcedon, and submitted himself to the commanding Leo. But, while having thus to assert his claims in the East, in the West he always and everywhere assumed his supremacy. The letters here called disciplinary were written to various churches and bishops, directing, forbidding, com-

mending, rebuking, with greater than imperial authority. Among them is one to the bishop of Aquileia, enjoining upon him to call a synod for the condemnation of Pelagian heresies, which are creeping into that church, and to compel all the clergy to make a new confession in writing. Another reproves the churches of Sicily for administering baptism upon the feast of Epiphany, and directs them instead to follow the custom of the church of Rome, and baptize only at Easter and Pentecost. He also commands them to send these bishops every year to the synod which he held at Rome. A letter to the bishops of Mauritania contains directions for reforming the great disorders into which the churches of that region had fallen in the matter of ordaining bishops. The letter to the French bishops with reference to the claims of Hilary has already been referred to. Hardly less noteworthy were his communications to the bishops of Illyria. The province of Eastern Illyricum had formerly been a part of the Western Empire, and under the jurisdiction of the Roman patriarchate. Under Theodosius II it was transferred to the Eastern Empire, and by imperial decree its ecclesiastical direction was given to the church of Constantinople. Pope Boniface secured the revocation of this decree, but still the papal authority over the province was not so unquestioned as that over the Western dioceses. Leo then showed wisdom as well as vigor in its administration. Appointing Anastasius, bishop of Thessalonica, his vicar, he insisted rigidly upon his own appellate jurisdiction, but carefully secured to the metropolitans all their canonical privileges. He enjoined upon Anastasius to act with gentleness and charity, principally in reproving bishops, and to seek to amend delinquents by kindness. Upon one occasion he blamed him sharply for the severity which he had shown

toward the metropolitan of Epirus, because he had not appeared at a synod, telling him that he had been appointed deputy of the Pope, not to exercise the same authority, but to share in his care. Of the miscellaneous letters reference may be made to a number written to the emperor and to others, with the purpose of correcting the date which the bishop of Alexandria had assigned for the observance of Easter in the year 455. In this attempted assumption of a prerogative given by the Council of Nice to the Alexandrian church, he was acting against his own boasted principles, and, it may be added, he did not succeed. A more marked affront to the dignity of the second patriarchate was a letter written to Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, urging upon him to adopt new customs, such as were followed at Rome, in regard to ordination.

Letter (XXIV) to Flavian, on the Incarnation.

"Is there anything more unreasonable than to be unwilling to submit to the authority of the most wise and learned? But this is what one does when, in contempt of the oracles of the prophets, of the apostles, and of the gospel, he listens only to himself, he becomes a teacher of error because he has not been willing to be only a disciple of the truth. What knowledge of the Scripture can be believed of this strange doctor (Eutyches), who appears to be ignorant of the first articles of the creed? What all who are regenerated in baptism have to confess has not yet been learned by this indiscreet old man, who knows not how to conceive thoughts worthy of our august mysteries, nor to listen to those who are more wise and learned than himself. Is it not of such obstinacy that the psalmist says, that it has left off to be wise and to do good? What else needed he to hear? Nothing beyond the ordinary formula by which the

faithful profess their belief in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ his only Son, born of the Virgin Mary by the operation of the Holy Spirit. To confess that the Almighty is Father is to say that his Son is consubstantial with him, this very Son who was born of the Virgin. The generation in time has added nothing and has taken away nothing from the eternal generation. But the Son, begotten from all eternity, has none the less in time taken our nature, which he has thus made his own by making himself consubstantial with us. Without which neither the dominion of death and sin, nor the power of Satan, could have been destroyed—that is to say, the divine and human natures were united in the person of Jesus Christ, in order that the Mediator might be able to make satisfaction by suffering and death, and might henceforth remain impassible and immortal.

“Our Divine Mediator has in his person all that is naturally in us, all that was put there at the creation, and which he wishes to restore in redeeming us. Yet he has not what the tempter has superadded. He took the form of the servant or of the sinner, but not the pollution of sin. He has lifted again the baseness of humanity without degrading the divinity. The humiliation by which the Master and Creator of immortals was willing to become a man, subject to death, is not a defect of power, but an effort of mercy all-powerful, such that in taking all the properties of our nature he did not lose anything of his own. The divine nature was not altered by the grace which it bestowed upon us; the human nature was not absorbed by the dignity which it received. He became as truly man as he remains immutably God. He is God, since before all beginning the Word was, and the Word was God, since the Word was made flesh and dwelt among men. He is man, born of a woman, and subject to

our infirmities with the exception of sin; but all things were made by him, and without him was not anything made. His temporal indicates his human nature; that birth received from a virgin denotes his divine power. He is an infant in the lowliness of a cradle; he is the Eternal celebrated in the highest heavens. Herod seeks him to put him to death; but the wise men came from the east to adore him. Like a sinner he receives the baptism of John, and in the same moment the thrice holy God declares him his well-beloved Son. As man he is tempted by Satan; as God he is served by the angels. It belongs evidently to man to feel hunger, thirst, weariness, the need of clothing and sleep; but it assuredly belongs to God to satisfy five thousand men with five loaves; to give the drink that forever assuages thirst; to walk upon the waves and to command the tempests. It belongs not to the same nature to weep over the death of a friend and to raise him from the dead; to die upon a cross and to put all nature in mourning; to obscure the sun; to cause the earth to tremble; to break the rocks and hearts hardened in crimes; and to open to the penitent thief the door of heaven. Since the Son begotten before all time has received in time a new birth, there exists a new order of things. He who in his own nature is invisible has made himself visible to ours; the incomprehensible has put himself within reach of our conception; the source of all beings has begun to be; the Master of things which are, and of things which yet are not, has taken the form of a servant; the Infinite has inclosed himself in the heart of a babe; the Impassible has clothed himself with members which suffer; and the Author of life has made himself subject to death. Thus things opposite were found united; and although in Jesus Christ there is but one person, these remain constantly and without any mix-

ture two different natures. That is another which makes him say, 'The Father and I are one,' from that which leads him with like truth to say, 'The Father is greater than I.' It is by reason of this unity of persons that it is indicated, as well in the Scriptures as in the creeds, that the Son of man descended from heaven, and that the Son of God took flesh from the virgin; that he was crucified and slain, although only as to his human nature. When he conversed with his disciples upon earth, he asked of his apostles whom they believed the Son of man to be, that is to say, himself, whom they saw clothed in mortal flesh. Peter, answering, says to him that he is the Christ, the Son of the living God, recognizing him at once as God and man. After his resurrection he caused it to be observed by the marks of his wounds that his body was real, sensible, palpable; and at the same time he entered the room where his disciples were concealed, the doors being shut, and gave to them the Holy Spirit, the knowledge of Scriptures, the gift of miracles; and thus he showed in his person the two natures united, yet distinct. Upon what, then, does he rest who is not willing to accord to Jesus Christ one veritable nature? Let the rash Eutyches tremble at these words of John: 'Every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit which divideth Jesus Christ is not of Christ, but an Antichrist.' Now, what is that which divides Jesus Christ if not the cutting off of his human nature? This ruinous error destroys the Saviour's passion and the virtue of his blood."

The letter closed with a reference to the error of Eutyches, in saying that Christ before his incarnation had two natures. Leo would have Eutyches dealt with tenderly, however, so only as he turns to the truth. The faith, he thinks, is never better avenged than when it is condemned by its own authors.

The epistle is said to have been listened to in the Council of Chalcedon with the most enthusiastic approval, and it was inserted entire in the acts of the council, and considered as a rule of faith.

SERMONS.

Of these there are nearly a hundred extant. Preaching was comparatively a new practice in the Roman Church, and these discourses have nothing of the elaborateness of Greek sermons. Short and practical, they are thus characterized by Milman: "They are singularly Christian: Christian in dwelling almost exclusively on Christ, his birth, his passion, his resurrection.

"They contrast with the florid, desultory, and often imaginative and impassioned style of the Greek preachers. They are brief, simple, severe; without fancy, without metaphoric subtilties, without passion; it is the Roman censor animadverting with nervous majesty on the vices of the people; the Roman prætor dictating the law, and delivering with authority the doctrines of the faith." Above a third of the sermons have reference to fasting; six are upon alms-giving; forty or more are upon the nativity, epiphany, passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, and four have reference to the honors of the see of St. Peter, Leo being accustomed to preach annually upon this theme, on the anniversaries of his promotion to the see. Of the few miscellaneous discourses the following is the most noteworthy:

Sermon upon the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul.

When the twelve apostles, after having been endowed by the Holy Spirit with the gift of tongues, shared the world among themselves, that they might go everywhere preaching the gospel, St. Peter, as chief of the apostolic college, was assigned to the

capital of the Roman Empire, in order that the light of the truth, which had begun to shine for the salvation of all peoples, might spread the more easily from the capital into all parts of the world. Was there then a nation under heaven which had not a citizen in Rome? and what people could remain ignorant of what Rome had learned? There, above all, it was necessary to confound the pride of the philosophers; there must be demonstrated the vanity of human wisdom; there it was necessary to destroy the sacrilegious worship of demons, to put an end to their impious sacrifices, and to overthrow idolatry in the very place where superstition had brought together the errors of the entire world. Thou didst not then fear, O great Apostle, to enter this formidable city; and while Paul, thy glorious colleague, was still occupied with the care of other churches, thou didst come into this forest, filled with all manner of ferocious beasts; thou didst face this deep ocean with more of courage than thou didst once display in walking upon the waters. Already hadst thou given to the faithful Jews the knowledge of the gospel; already established the church at Antioch; already had Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia found themselves subjected by thy labors to the laws of the gospel. And now, without having the least doubt of success, and not being stopped by the little time remaining to thee to live, thou dost bear the trophy of the cross of Jesus Christ upon the capital, where divine Providence, in its eternal counsels, has placed the scene of thy martyrdom and the seat of thy dignity.

Paul comes to associate himself with thy generous confession, that chosen vessel, the special teacher of the Gentiles; he joins himself with thine apostolate at a time in which the principles of justice, of virtue, and of liberty were oppressed by the

tyranny of Nero. The thirst for blood with which he burned, inflaming itself by his brutal voluptuousness, drove him to give the signal for the persecution which, like a torrent which no dam can restrain, bursts through and precipitates itself upon all of the Christian name. As if the grace of God could be destroyed by the death of his servants! He did not know that death is for them the greatest benefaction, since by contempt for this passing life they purchase immortal felicity. No, the sanguinary furies of tyrants have no power against a religion to which the cross of Jesus Christ has given an imperishable foundation. Far from enfeebling the Church, persecutions only strengthen it. The discourse goes on to say that Paul and Peter were equal in desert, being as the two eyes of the body of the Church, of which Jesus Christ is the head. It concludes by saying that without doubt these two glorious apostles do endeavor by their prayers to move our Lord to mercy.

FAUSTUS.

A BRITON by birth, he became a monk of Lerins, where he was made abbot. Later he was chosen bishop of Rhégium. His distinction is due to his leadership of the Gallic bishops in their opposition to the extreme predestinarian views of Augustine. He belonged to the generation following that of Cassian and Prosper. So fully had the more moderate views upon grace and free-will now come to obtain, that in 475 a council of thirty bishops was held at Arles to oppose what has since been called the predestinarian party, though it is doubtful

whether there was any such party, as distinct from the Augustinian. This council appointed Faustus to write upon the subject of its deliberations, and we have his book "Of Grace and Free-Will," dedicated to the bishop of Arles. It is characterized by its moderation. Faustus rejects the errors of Pelagius; acknowledges original sin, and the necessity of grace to obtain salvation; and owns that the free-will of men is much weakened since the sin of Adam. But he maintains that there remain to men some knowledge of good and some seeds of virtue; that we can know and desire to do good with the assistance of grace, and can not do good without it, but that God denies this grace to no man; that the labor of man accompanies this grace, and that he must obey its motions; that God knows from all eternity the good and evil that all men will do; that he foresees all their actions and the end they will have; but that he predestines no man to salvation or damnation.

Other works of Faustus's are nine letters, several discourses, and a small treatise concerning the generation of the Son, the incarnation, and the nature of the soul. He explains here his belief that God did not suffer by the senses, but only by a kind of compassion. and also maintains that the soul is corporeal.

CÆSAR OF ARLES.

LERINS, the home of semi-Pelagianism, was also to train a man who should contribute largely to

the overthrow of that system by the establishment of a modified Augustinianism. Cæsar, bishop of Arles from 501 to 543, and one of the most influential of the early French bishops, was a monk and abbot of that monastery. He was a man of pious zeal and self-sacrificing labors, who, says Neander, had been drawn to embrace the Augustinian doctrines by that tendency of Christian feeling which led him to refer everything to God, and to acknowledge his kindness in every blessing; and, in holding fast only to this interest of practical Christianity, he carefully avoided all the excesses which might do violence to any Christian feeling. As the principal bishop of Gaul, he was the inspirer of the action of a synod held at Orange, A. D. 529, which adopted eight Augustinian articles, of which the following are specimens: the seventh, which was against those who believe that man may have some saving thought for his own salvation, or make some good choice without the aid of the Spirit; and the eighth, which was against those who say that some come to the grace of baptism by their own free-will and others by grace. Yet these views were tempered by two propositions put forth by the council, to the effect, first, that all who are baptized may and ought, if they will, to labor for their own salvation; and, secondly, that the council do not believe that God has predestined men to damnation—nay, they pronounce an anathema against those who shall be of that opinion.

Cæsar's literary productions were chiefly homilies, of which he composed a great number, not only to preach himself, but also for the supply of

other clergymen. He made the account even, however, by transcribing and using, sometimes almost entire, the sermons of others.

FULGENTIUS.

LIVING a century after Augustine, Fulgentius was the foremost theologian of his day, and the only approach to a successor to Augustine in Africa. Born of a distinguished family and given a thorough education, he renounced the public employment upon which he at first entered, and became a monk. After some years of experience and travel, he founded a monastery of his own, from which, about A. D. 504, he was ordained bishop of Ruspe. When King Thrasimond banished sixty of the leading Catholic bishops to Sardinia, Fulgentius, although younger than others, was recognized as their head. When the bishops, constituting as they did in their exile a kind of permanent council, were consulted upon matters of doctrine, it was Fulgentius who formulated their replies. So great was his fame that Thrasimond summoned him to Carthage, and propounded to him certain difficult questions concerning the Trinity, which he is said to have answered to the satisfaction of the king. The Arian bishop of Carthage, however, was not so well pleased, and procured his return to Sardinia. Recalled with his brethren in 522, he governed his church in peace until his death, in 532. His writings are mostly upon the Trinity and the person of

Christ, and upon the doctrine of predestination. To the first class of works, not common in the West, he was impelled by the Arian domination in Africa; to the second class, by the broader demands of his age, and by the Augustinian spirit which he had inherited. We have nine of the Trinitarian writings, but they contain nothing to demand our notice. His views upon predestination and grace were set forth in seven books, now lost, against Faustus, whom we have noticed as the last champion of the doctrine of Southern Gaul. They were also given in the following works, now extant: "Three Books of Answers to Monimus"; a "Letter to the Scythian Monks," written in the name of fifteen African bishops; a "Treatise on Predestination and Grace"; and in "Letters to John and Venerius," written in the name of the bishops. It is sufficient to say of these views that they were thoroughly Augustinian, and had a decided influence in securing the triumph of (modified) Augustinianism at the Synod of Orange. The other extant works of Fulgentius are several letters; a "Treatise of Faith," to Peter; "Answers to Questions of Ferrandus" about baptism, in which he says that baptism without faith avails nothing to an adult, and that children receiving the sacraments receive the grace of faith; and two books "Of the Remission of Sins." In the last work he says that none can obtain remission of sins and be saved outside of the Church, and that none of those who are in the Church can obtain pardon without being truly converted and ceasing to commit sin, and to love the creature so as to set the heart upon it.

Also he says that there is no remission of sins to be obtained but in this life, and that all those who die in a bad estate shall be damned without mercy. Upon these opinions a Catholic writer says: "Fulgentius could not have said that every one who dies in this state shall be damned without mercy had he believed in a purgatory into which many are thrown, who die in a bad estate, for their unpardoned venial sins. And this sense of the words is confirmed by what he says in his treatise of faith addressed to Peter, that those who die in a good estate shall be happy forever, and others (that is, those who die in a bad estate) shall be condemned to eternal punishment, where he plainly asserts two different states only after this life, without any mention of a third."

BOËTHIUS.

FLAVIUS ANICIUS MANLIUS TORQUATUS SEVERINUS BOËTHIUS. Such was the patrician name of this distinguished writer. Born at Rome about A. D. 470, of a family allied to emperors, his education gave him command of all the learning, Greek as well as Latin, of his age. So complete was his classical knowledge, and so approaching to that of the classic authors was his style, that it has been claimed that he spent eighteen years at Athens in literary study. This claim is now deemed unfounded, but it only increases our wonder that amid the fast-thickening barbarism there should arise a Roman whom, as Gibbon says, Cato or Cicero might have owned as a fellow-citizen, and a

writer whose masterpiece might not unworthily have engaged the pen of Plato or of Tully. At an early age he received from King Theodoric distinguished marks of honor, and was soon promoted to the highest offices of state. The authority there given him he used as a patriot and a philosopher, and by it was able to temper the harshness of the Gothic domination. He was able also to secure rank and honors for his own family, his two sons being made consuls in the year 522. It is of this period in his life that Gibbon speaks when he says, "Prosperous in his fame and fortunes, in his public honors and private alliances, in the cultivation of science and the consciousness of virtue, Boëthius might have been styled happy, if that precarious epithet could be safely applied before the last term of the [life of man." But two years only elapsed when he found himself in prison awaiting a cruel death at the hands of the same Theodoric who had delighted to honor him. Yet but for this caprice of a barbarian tyrant, the man apparently so happy would to-day be forgotten. For it was in that prison that he wrote his famous "Consolations of Philosophy," a work which the world will not let die. His death occurred A. D. 524.

It is only by favor that Boëthius can be claimed as a church father; for not only is the genuineness of the theological works ascribed to him questioned, but it is even said that we have no certain evidence that he was a Christian. Still, the piously theistic character of the "Consolations," together with the fact that the Church has so long claimed him, is sufficient warrant for this notice.

The Consolations of Philosophy.

This book was made accessible to the ancestors of English readers just a thousand years ago by the translation of King Alfred; and long before the art of printing it existed in many manuscripts and various languages. It has the form of a dialogue between the author and Philosophy, and is written in both prose and verse. Of its five books, the first is given to Boëthius's complaints at the sad misfortunes which have befallen him. To these Philosophy at first replies by reminding him of the long course of prosperity which he has enjoyed, and that his sorrows are only very recent. It is then shown that the supreme happiness does not consist in the possession of those things of which he has now been deprived, but that God only is the sovereign good. The fourth book sets forth that none but the good are happy, and that the wicked are always miserable, and then, discoursing of providence and destiny, inquires why God permits the wicked to enjoy a seeming happiness, and the good to suffer pain. The last book treats of chance and free-will, and of the manner of reconciling free-will with God's foreknowledge. Boëthius makes Philosophy to say that foreknowledge is not at all destroyed by free-will, because, although everything that God foresees necessarily comes to pass, yet it would not have been foreseen if it were not come to pass by a perfectly free choice.

DIONYSIUS EXIGUUS.

THIS writer would not obtain special mention simply for the merit or extent of his writings. A Scythian by birth, he was a good Greek and Latin

scholar, and especially apt at translating these two tongues. Besides writing a number of translations of Greek letters and treatises, he made a collection of the general canons of the Church, and of the decretals of certain of the popes, from Siricius to Anastasius II. But, while this work would never have given his name to posterity, Dionysius Exiguus is still remembered as the first writer to make use of the Christian era for the fixing of dates.

CASSIODORUS.

IF to Boëthius we owe one masterpiece of antiquity, to Cassiodorus we doubtless owe many, not indeed as their author, but as their preserver. Cassiodorus was one of the few men who are privileged to live two lives upon earth. He was born in Calabria, of an illustrious Roman family, and for above forty years was an honored and trusted official of the foremost rank in the courts of the Gothic kings Odoacer, Theodoric, Athalaric, Theodatus, and Vitiges. When upward of sixty years of age, he withdrew from public life to a monastery which he had founded at his native city of Scyllacium. Entering here upon a new career, he pursued it for almost the common working period of man's life, and made posterity his debtor by employing his monks to copy in large numbers the most valuable writings of antiquity. He also contributed much to the wants of the day by his own writings. Besides preparing a "History of the Goths," now lost, and "Twelve

Books of Letters," consisting of the letters written in his public life, a "Chronicon," and some treatises upon grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, he wrote the following theological works: The "Tripartite History," which was a compilation of the complementary parts of the Greek historians—Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret; an extended "Commentary on the Psalms," preceded by a learned prolegomenon; commentaries on various parts of the New Testament, now lost; a work "On the Powers of the Soul," which closes with a prayer expressive of deep feeling and piety; and the "Institution to Divine Learning." His style, while not equal to that of Boëthius, is above that of his age, being, as an old writer has quaintly said, "of a middle size."

The Institution to Divine Learning.

In the preface to this work, Cassiodorus says that he has been greatly troubled, that while there are schools and masters for human learning, there are none for instruction in divine learning. He had made strenuous efforts, in company with Pope Agapetus, for the establishment of such a school at Rome, similar to the schools at Alexandria and Nisibis. As the troublous times had made these efforts unsuccessful, he now prepares this book as an introduction to the study of theology, that he may in some measure supply the want. He then recommends students first of all to commit to memory the Holy Scriptures, beginning with the Psalms, and afterward to study the fathers of the Church. Of those who are the safest interpreters, he mentions particularly Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, and Chrysostom, among the Greeks, and Ambrose and Augustine of the Latins. He would also have the

history of the general councils of the Church understood, that the true faith may be distinguished from all heresies. Afterward he gives an account of the different divisions of the books of Scripture, and speaks of the Hebrew text and the various versions, whence he passes to an account of the ecclesiastical historians and Latin fathers. To these studies he would have added a knowledge of cosmography and other sciences, and a sufficient acquaintance with profane writers to facilitate the study of the sacred books.

To the religious who have no aptitude for letters, he recommends the cultivation of the soil and various rural occupations.

He would also have the leisure of the monastic brethren employed in the transcription of books, and so in the spreading of their treasures. Such copyists, he says, are in a sense imitators of God, who wrote his law with his own hand.

OTHER WRITERS AFTER LEO.

Salonius and *Veranius*, sons of Bishop Eucherius, were both bishops in France. We have from their hands two letters to Pope Leo; and from the pen of *Salonius*, expositions of the proverbs of Solomon and of the book of Ecclesiastes.

Eustathius translated nine homilies of Basil, and Cassiodorus said of his work that it equaled the original.

Eugenius, bishop of Carthage, who was banished on account of his faith, wrote a "Treatise on the Faith," and a petition, both of which he presented to King Hunneric.

Cerealis, an African bishop, has sent down to us a "Confession of Faith" in answer to Arius.

Victorius, of Aquitaine, was the maker of a paschal cycle from A. D. 73 to A. D. 559.

A collection of letters by *Ruricius* and *Desiderius*, two French bishops, has been preserved; but they contain nothing of value.

Vigilius, bishop of Thapsus, in Africa, was among the bishops banished by Hunneric. He wrote a number of works on the Trinity and on the Incarnation, of which the best known are "Twelve Books on the Trinity," which he put forth in the name of Athanasius, and "Five Books against Eutyches."

Pope Gelasius wrote, besides a number of letters, the following small treatises: "Upon the Binding Power of an Anathema," a "Discourse about the Lupercalia," a treatise "Against the Pelagians," and a treatise "Against Eutyches and Nestorius."

Paschasius, a deacon of the Roman church, wrote three books "Of the Godhead of the Holy Spirit."

Gennadius, a priest of Marseilles, wrote a "Book of Ecclesiastical Writers," and a "Treatise of Doctrine." The former, which may be called a continuation of Jerome's "De Viris Illustribus" down to A. D. 405, is of considerable value for the literary history of this period.

Eunodius, bishop of Pavia, would have deserved a separate article, if quantity of writings alone were our standard, for he has given us about three hundred letters: a "Panegyric of King Theodoric"; a "Defense of the Council which acquitted Pope Symmachus"; the lives of Epiphanius of Pavia, and

Anthony, a monk of Lerins "; a " Eucharistic upon his own Life "; a treatise " Against the Heretics of the East "; six rhetorical pieces upon sacred themes ; and some minor works in prose and in verse. None of them, however, were great works, and, though a prominent man in his day, Eunodius does not rank as a great ecclesiastical writer.

More deserving of our attention than all these works of Eunodius is the single extant writing of *Julian Pomerius*. A native of Mauritania, he was made a priest in France, and flourished toward the close of the fifth century. His three books " Of the Contemplative Life " are of genuine worth. After showing that the contemplative life, whose chief joy is in the vision of God, is not possible to those on earth, he depicts the future felicity in which it will be possible to the deserving. The books contain a striking portraiture of the lives of worthy and unworthy priests, and show in what the true riches of a priest consist—in purity, justice, piety, prudence, temperance, and the want of attachment for this world's goods. They describe vividly the arrogant and presumptuous man, and trace all sins ultimately to pride. Describing the " outer darkness," they say, What is it but the eternal privation of God, who is the light of our souls ?

Eugippius, an abbot, wrote the life of St. Severinus, and also a collection of passages out of the works of St. Augustine, which was highly recommended by Cassiodorus in his book of " Divine Learning."

Ferrandus, a deacon of the church at Carthage, made a collection of canons for the use of the Afri-

can churches, wrote a "Life of Fulgentius," and a number of letters, and made the first written remonstrance against the condemnation of the Three Chapters, alleging that, if the Council of Chalcedon might be impeached, so also might the Council of Nice; whereas general councils, and especially such as the Roman Church had approved, had an authority second only to that of the canonical books.

Trifolius, a priest, has left a letter on the expression, "One of the Trinity suffered."

Laurentius, bishop of Novara, was the author of a treatise upon penance, entitled a "Book of Two Times," and of several sermons.

Giles, a Gallic abbot, wrote a letter and a confession of faith.

Epiphanius Scholasticus translated Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, for Cassiodorus.

The bishops *Portianus*, *Leo*, and *Trojanus*, have left each a letter, the last one on the subject of baptism.

Nicetius, bishop of Treves, wrote two tracts on "The Watchings of God's Servants," and on the "Usefulness of Singing Psalms," also two letters.

We have monastic rules of this period ascribed to the pens of *Aurelianus*, *Tenadius*, and *Ferreolus*; also letters written by *Agnellus* concerning the faith, by *Germanus* of Pavia, to Brunhilda, and by *Evantius*, against such as think the blood of animals impure.

Justus, a Spanish bishop, has left us a commentary on the Canticles; *Aretas*, a commentary on the Revelation; *Primasius*, commentaries on the Revelation and the Pauline Epistles; and *Victor*, bishop

of Capua, a "Harmony of the Gospels," believed to have been copied from Tatian.

It is a relief to place in this somewhat barren list the name of *Facundus*, bishop of Hermiana, in Africa. He was at Constantinople when Justinian endeavored to extort from the bishops their condemnation of the Three Chapters, and stoutly opposed the effort, writing for this purpose his twelve books in "Defense of the Three Chapters." In these he defended the memory of Ibas, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret, and urged the wrong of condemning those who had died in the communion of the Church. He remonstrates that it is the part of princes to submit, not to dictate, in spiritual matters, and holds up to the emperor the examples of Marcian, Leo, and the great Theodosius. When Pope Vigilius changed his position and yielded to Justinian, Facundus remained firm, and withdrew from the communion of those who indorsed the condemnation. We have two writings of his in defense of this course. In the "Defense of the Three Chapters" is a passage which has been cited in the controversies over the nature of the Eucharist. The faithful, in receiving the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, he says, receive his body and blood; not that the bread is properly his body and the cup his blood, but because they contain in them the mystery of the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

Two other defenders of the Three Chapters were *Rusticus*, a deacon of the Roman church, and *Liberatus*, a deacon of the church at Carthage. We have from the former a "Dialogue against the Ace-

phali," and from the latter an historical review of the Nestorian and Eutychian contest to A. D. 553.

Junilius, an African bishop, wrote a book on biblical introduction, entitled a "Treatise of the Parts of the Divine Law." The author says that he obtained the work from a student of the biblical school at Nisibis. It is a treatise of real value, and would take no mean rank by the side of modern works.

Martin, bishop of Bracara, made a collection of Greek canons, which he translated. He is also known as the author of a treatise on "The Four Cardinal Virtues."

Gildas, a British monk, born A. D. 520, has left an historical writing upon his native land, in which he deplores the sad state of morals among the clergy.

Sedatus and *Chrysippius* were each the author of an extant homily, that of the latter being in praise of the Virgin Mary.

Nearly all the popes of this period have left letters or decretals.

THE LATIN CHURCH HISTORIANS.

THE early Western Church can boast of but little original work in the department of history, being for the most part content with translations of the Greek writers. The principal names to be remembered are Rufinus, Sulpicius Severus, Paul Orosius, Cassiodorus, Victor Vitensis, and Gregory of Tours, the last two on account of local histories.

Of RUFINUS we have already spoken.

SULPICIOUS SEVERUS, a contemporary of Jerome, was a priest of Aquitaine, and a friend of the poet Paulinus. He was of a distinguished family, and was educated for the bar, where he acquired some fame before his conversion. Paulinus says of him that "he despised wealth and glory, to follow Jesus Christ, and preferred the preaching of fishermen before all the pieces of Ciceronian eloquence and all the books of fine learning; however, he showed his eloquence in the writings which he composed after his conversion." The most important of these was his work upon sacred history, in two books. It contained a summary account of the events which happened in the history of the Church, patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian, from the creation to A. D. 400. His other writings were a "Life of St. Martin," three dialogues, the first of which is about the miracles of the Eastern monks; and ten letters. Three of the letters and two of the dialogues are about St. Martin of Tours, Severus having been an eye-witness of many of the events which he relates concerning this saint.

PAUL OROSIUS lived at the same period. He was a Spanish priest, who visited Augustine in Africa, and by him was sent to Jerome in Palestine. His history in seven books entitled "*Hormesta*," was undertaken at the request of Augustine, who wished by it to meet the charges made by the pagans, after the fall of Rome, that the misfortunes of the empire were due to the adoption of Christianity in place of the old religion. It related the principal events of history from the birth of Christ

to the time of writing. It was not exact, the author being credulous and having never read the Greek historians. Orosius had more of the spirit of Jerome than of Augustine. He wrote a small treatise upon free-will against Pelagius, entitled an "Apology," in which he calls upon Jesus Christ to witness that he hates, not the heresy, but the heretic.

CASSIODORUS's historical works have already been described. It may be added here that his "Tripartite History" was the standard work upon Church history during the middle ages.

VICTOR VITENSIS, a North African bishop, published in five books a "History of Vandal Persecutions" in that province in the fifth century, under Genseric and Hunneric. The Vandals were Arians, and visited upon the orthodox, perhaps with interest, the persecutions which they had themselves formerly bestowed upon the Arians. Among other things, Hunneric banished a great number of the orthodox bishops to Corsica. Victor himself shared in this persecution.

GREGORY OF TOURS, who died near the close of the sixth century, wrote, in ten books, a history of France, in which, after an outline of ecclesiastical history from the beginning of the world, he gives an account of the introduction of Christianity into Gaul. He continues the history of that country, secular as well as ecclesiastical, down to his own times. It contains the famous tradition of the seven bishops who were sent into Gaul in the time of the Emperor Decius, and founded the churches of Toulouse, Tours, Arles, Narbonne, Paris, Clermont, and Lemovicum. Gregory was simple and

credulous, and little weight can be attached to any of the many marvels which he relates, unless they are confirmed from other sources. Still, his work covers in its way an important period, which but for it would be left unchronicled.

To these works should be added a number of "Chronicons," or outline chronicles. We have one of them by *Jerome*, which was a translation of that of Eusebius, continued down to A. D. 378, and which was itself continued by *Prosper* to A. D. 405, by *Idacius* to A. D. 467, and by *Marcellinus* to A. D. 535. Another, by *Quintus Julius Hilarion*, extended from the beginning of the world to A. D. 397. A very succinct chronicon by *Cassiodorus* contains only the names of the consuls and the principal events. *Victor*, an African bishop, continued *Prosper's* work down to A. D. 565, and his own was continued to A. D. 590 by *John of Biclarum*.

THE EARLY LATIN CHRISTIAN POETS.

AN acute logician, with no knowledge of Christianity, might almost reason out its genius and tendency from the history of Latin poetry during this period. The poetry of the Augustan age, like the Ciceronian eloquence, was now a thing of the past. Still, as in the schools of Alexandria after the Greek Muse had been long dead, so there yet survived among cultured and polite Latins a perfect knowledge of all the rules of the poetic art. In the reign of Constantine, the very forms in which

Virgil and Horace had written were doubtless followed daily in the exercises of Roman school-boys. What, then, was needed but lofty conceptions and motives to produce a new poetry? But grand conceptions had come, nobler, more inspiring, than any known to the Augustan Muse; motives to expression, too, there were, higher than any that prompted the pagan poets; yet generations passed with very little of noble poetry. Christianity had come, unfolding the infinite; Christianity, calling for worshipful expression. Why were not Christian thought and aspiration yoked to the old metrical chariot, that it might course again among the clouds? The study of the poets of the age shows us why. The metrical system of the classical poetry was artificial and restrictive. With writers of anything less than consummate genius, thought must be sacrificed to beauty of form; whereas the Christian spirit demanded freedom and the fullest unfolding of thought, to it the expression of beauty was more than beauty of expression. Hence it was that Christian writers, aspiring to utter their new thoughts and longings in verse, felt themselves cramped by their vehicle. To speak freely, they must break over its bounds; yet quite to disregard its rules would be, they felt, to give up poetry. So, as Archbishop Trench suggests, there were doubt and hesitation. Now, as in the "Instructions" of Commodian—our first long Christian work in verse—there was a complete abandonment of the rules of quantity, and the substitution of accent; now, as in Juvenius, we find a rendering of the gospel history in tolerably pure hexameter verse; and again, as in Hilary and others,

there was a following of classical forms, but with considerable liberty as to quantity.

All kinds of poetry were attempted, as well the epic as the ode. But Christian heroics which should be immortal were of the far-off future, and of other tongues. The future of Latin poetry was to be found alone in its hymns. In these, after classical trammels should have been wholly ignored, Christian devotion was to find its amplest expression. Even in this age of imperfect release, there was something more than the mere promise of good things. Hilary first suggested what might be, in his hymn "*Lucis largitor splendide.*" Ambrose, in what he himself sang, and still more by the "Ambrosians" which he caused to be written and sung, made it certain that there were richer things in store. Prudentius fairly established the claims of the new poetry to a distinct and respectful recognition. Sedulius, while turning back, more than his greater predecessor, to classical forms, yet sent down hymns still chanted from the Roman Breviary. Lastly, Fortunatus, in the midst of whose career our period closes, wrote the "*Vexilla Regis prodeunt*" and "*Pange lingua gloriosi,*" two of the noblest hymns of the Church.

It should be observed that, side by side with the rejection of the classical rules of quantity and the new dependence upon accent, there was gradually introduced a new help to melody in the use of rhyme. Dr. Neale points to Hilary as the first who has left us distinct traces of this use, in the hymn—

*"Jesus refulsit omnium
Pius redemptor gentium";*

but other authorities upon this subject hold that this hymn can not be Hilary's. In the later development of the Latin hymnology, as is well known, rhyme had an important place. Dr. Trench (see the introduction to his "Sacred Latin Poetry") contends, as do other scholars, that both in their dependence upon accent instead of quantity, and in their use of rhyme, the Christian poets return to the old ante-classical and native Latin poetry; and in this appeal to the native sense, he thinks, lay one reason of their success in establishing the new poetry.

We glance now at the several writers:

COMMODIANUS belonged to the preceding period. His "Instructions," a Christian apology in hexameters, to be read accentually, a work of no poetic merit, is referred to in Book II of this series.

JUVENCUS, a Spanish presbyter, flourished under Constantine. His only extant work which is with certainty ascribed to him is his "Life of Christ," or "Evangelical History," in four books, of 3,276 lines. In his exordium he speaks of his expectation of being made immortal by his work, on account of the divineness of his theme. The Muse whom he invokes is the Holy Spirit. "The air of the poem," says a kindly critic, "is very poetical, the cadence of the verse is fine and soft; but the words are not always poetical, and sometimes they are not good Latin." As to this last charge, it should be no discredit to the author. How could he use from the Latin what was not yet in the Latin, and would not be until the new faith had incorporated it? His model for form seems to have been Virgil.

HILARY, of Poitiers. Of this father we have already spoken. Our only poem which is his beyond dispute is the hymn referred to as giving promise of the future, the first stanza of which is thus rendered by Dr. Neale :

“O glorious Father of the light,
From whose effulgence, calm and bright,
Soon as the hours of night are fled,
The brilliance of the dawn is shed ! ”

AMBROSE. (See article on Ambrose.)

PRUDENTIUS. “The prince of primitive Christian poets” is the title which has been given to him. He was born (at Saragossa?) in Spain, A. D. 348. Educated for the law, he held office as a magistrate, and was afterward appointed to an honorable place under the Emperor Honorius. As late as his fifty-seventh year he turned from worldly pursuits to devote himself to sacred poetry. One of his prefaces tells us that he resolved to compose a hymn of praise every day of his life. That he kept to this purpose we do not know, but, if so, his repeated invocations of the sacred Muse did not preclude excellence of attainment. He wrote heroic and lyrical poems. The former, which have never received great praise, are the “Apotheosis,” a defense of the divinity of Christ against heretics; the “Hamar-tigeneia,” on original sin; the “Psychomachia,” an allegory on the contest of Faith with her enemies; the “Dittochæum,” treating of Old Testament histories; and “Two Books against Symmachus.” His distinction was gained by his two lyrical works, known as the “Cathemerinon” and the “Peristephanon.” The former is a collection of poems, twelve

in all, for the various hours and occupations of the Christian, and it is from these that most of the hymns by Prudentius, now in use by the Latin Church, have been taken. The shortest of the poems contains 80 and the longest 220 lines, so that it is only by selections that they have been adapted to liturgical use. The hymn which is perhaps best known by translation is one from the poem "For Christmas-Day," beginning—

"Of the Father's love begotten."

Dr. Neale pronounces the poem "For Funerals" to be the noblest of them all, and has translated portions of it, from which rendering we take the following:

"The ages are hastening onward,
When the frame vital heat shall revisit,
And, animate then and forever,
Shall assume its first loved habitation.

"Hence tombs have their holy attendance,
Hence the forms that have seen dissolution
Receive the last honors of nature,
And are decked with the pomp of the burial.

"For what mean the tombs that we quarry,
What the art that our monuments boast in,
But that this which we trust to their keeping
Is not dead, but reposing in slumber?"

The "Peristephanon" is a collection of fourteen poems concerning the crowns of martyrs, ranging in length from 18 to 1,140 lines. One of the best is upon "The Eighteen Martyrs of Saragossa." One, which refers to the infant martyrs of Bethlehem,

contains the following, taken from a translation used in Schaff's "Christ in Song":

"The Lord's first votive offerings of blood,
First tender lambs upon the altar laid,
Around in fearless innocence they stood,
And sported gayly with the murderous blade."

PAULINUS of Nola. Born of a noble family at Bordeaux, he resided for a time in Spain, and went thence into Italy, where he was made bishop, having previously given up much of his property to the Church. He had been a pupil and friend of the poet Ausonius, was a man of fine literary culture, intimate with the distinguished churchmen of his day, and had a high reputation among his contemporaries. He wrote a panegyric of Theodosius, and various extant letters. Of his poems, Augustine said that they were sweet as milk and honey, and that by them the faithful were transported. They have not, however, gained much recognition in modern times.

SEDULIUS. Flourishing under Theodosius II and Valentinian III, this author, who became a bishop, wrote the "Carmen Paschale," a hymn, an elegy, and an "Opus Paschale," a prose rendering of the "Carmen." The latter is in five books, the first of which contrasts paganism with Christianity. The other four are like the work of Juvenecus in giving the life of our Lord in verse. Contrasting the two works, Dr. Neale says: "The lines of Juvenecus read like the imposed task of a school-boy; those of Sedulius like the composition of a poet and a divine." The hymn is an acrostic, containing the whole life of Christ, and parts of it have

always been in use in the Church. The second stanza has been rendered as follows:

"Blest Author of this earthly frame,
To take a servant's form he came,
That, liberating flesh by flesh,
Whom he had made might live afresh."

DRACONTIUS. He was a Spaniard by birth, and an advocate at Carthage under the Vandal king Gunthamund. His chief work was an heroic poem in three books, known as the "*Carmen de Deo*." The first book treats of the creation of the world, the fall of man, the sentence of death upon our first parents, and of the resurrection. The other two, which are inferior, cover a variety of topics. He wrote also an elegy called "*Satisfactio*," addressed to King Gunthamund, whom he had offended.

ARITUS was a contemporary of Dracontius, and wrote an heroic in five books, in the first three of which he treats the themes of Milton in "*Paradise Lost*." The fourth is upon the Deluge, and the fifth upon the Red Sea, in both of which he treats of the mystery of baptism.

ENNODIUS has received notice heretofore. His poems have no present interest.

ARATOR was a state official of respectable position, and afterward a sub-deacon of the Church of Rome. He wrote a paraphrase of the Acts of the Apostles in heroic verse, which was publicly read at Rome and elicited great applause. The poem is noteworthy for its correct classical versification.

APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS. This author was born in Lyons, A. D. 430, his father and grandfather hav-

ing been prefects. He himself married a daughter of Aritus, for a short time emperor in Gaul. He was highly honored by succeeding emperors, by one of whom he was made governor of Rome. Though a layman, he was chosen for bishop of Clermont, and was consecrated A. D. 472. His style was correct and even elegant. He made a collection of nine books of his own letters. His poems consist of three panegyrics in verse, and a collection of poems addressed to his friends.

Other names may be mentioned to complete our list: Pope DAMASUS and PROSPER of Aquitaine both wrote verses, which are now little known. HILARY of Arles wrote a poem on the beginning of Genesis. The work of PAULINUS of Périgueux consisted of six books of pitiful verse upon the life of St. Martin. CLAUDIANUS MAMERTUS, a priest of Vienne, who wrote against Faustus of Ries, was extravagantly praised by Sidonius. The "*Pange lingua*" of Fortunatus was once assigned to him. PROBA FALCONIA framed a life of our Lord out of fragments from Virgil. ORENTIUS of Elvira is also known as having written an "Admonition to Christians" in verse.

FORTUNATUS belongs more strictly to the succeeding age, and will be mentioned among the mediæval Latin poets; but his grandest hymn, the "*Vexilla Regis prodeunt*," was written before A. D. 590, on the occasion of the reception of a piece of the true cross, which was borne in procession at the dedication of a new church at Poitiers. Following is Neale's rendering, with one verse added, as given in Schaff's "Christ in Song":

The Royal Banners forward go,
The Cross shines forth in mystic glow;
Where He in flesh, our flesh who made,
Our sentence bore, our ransom paid.

There while He hung, His sacred side
By soldier's spear was opened wide,
To cleanse us in the precious flood
Of water mingled with His blood.

Fulfilled in all that David told
In true prophetic song of old,
How God the nation's King should be;
For God is reigning from the tree.

O Tree of Glory, Tree most fair!
Ordained those Holy Limbs to bear;
How bright in purple robe it stood,
The purple of a Saviour's blood!

Upon its arms so widely flung,
The weight of this world's ransom hung:
The ransom He alone could pay,
Despoiling Satan of his prey.

To Thee, Eternal Three in One,
Let homage meet by all be done:
As by the cross Thou dost restore,
So rule and guide us evermore!

THE END.

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